6 2 h

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION OF SOUTH-CAROLINA,

FROM A BRITISH PROVINCE TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE.

By DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.
MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

TRENTON:
PRINTED BY ISAAC COLLINS.
M.DCC.LXXXV.

18

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

Of the reduction of Savannah, the ſubſequent incurſions into South-Carolina from Georgia, and the attack on Savannah by the French and Americans.

	Page
GEORGIA invaded from Eaſt-Florida,	1—3
Invaders repulſed,	3
Again invaded from New-York,	4—6
Savannah taken by lieutenant-colonel Campbell,	6
Treatment of American priſoners taken there,	6—7
General Prevoſt arrives from Eaſt-Florida, and takes the command in Savannah,	7—8
States of South and North-Carolina prepare to oppoſe the Britiſh in Georgia,	8
Reinforcement from North-Carolina delayed near Charleſton for want of arms,	8—9
General Lincoln appointed to command in the ſouthern ſtates,	9—10
Preſident Lowndes's proclamation,	ib.
His ſpeech to the aſſembly of South-Carolina,	10—11
Their anſwer,	11—12
General Lincoln encamps at Puryſburg—is re-	

inforced

Page

inforced by militia—their character, 11—12
Major Gardiner lands on Port-Royal iſland, ib.
Is attacked and defeated by general Moultrie, 13
Britiſh erect poſts at Ebenezer and Auguſta, ib.
Encourage the tories to an inſurrection, 14
The tories embody, and are defeated at Kettle creek by col. Pickins—their party diſperſed, and their ring-leaders executed, 14—16
General Lincoln propoſes to invade Georgia, ib.
General Aſh croſſes the river Savannah, and is ſurprized at Briar creek, ib.—17
Two American gallies loſt at Puryſburgh, ib.
Exertions of the aſſembly of South-Carolina, 18—19
A regiment of cavalry raiſed—J. Rutledge, eſq. elected governor—Militia camp at Orangeburgh, ib.
General Lincoln croſſes into Georgia, 20
General Prevoſt croſſes into South-Carolina, 20—21
General Moultrie retreats to Charleſton, 22—24
Britiſh appear before Charleſton, 24—25
General Pulaſki arrives and engages the advance of the Britiſh on Charleſton Neck, 25—26
Major Benjamin Huger killed, ib.
Propoſition of neutrality made to the Britiſh when before the lines of Charleſton, 27
Britiſh retreat—ſurprize the guard at mr. Mathews, on John's iſland, 28—29
General Lincoln returns to South-Carolina, ib.
Battle at Stono—Britiſh retreat, 29—31
Plunderings and devaſtations of the Britiſh, 32—34
Count D'Eſtaing arrives, 34—35
Demands the ſurrender of Savannah, 36
Siege of Savannah, 37—39
French and Americans aſſault the lines of Savannah, and are repulſed, 39—40
French troops re-embark, and leave the continent, 41

Page
Diſtreis of the ſtate of Georgia, 42
Captain French taken by colonel John White, 42—43
Reflections on the campaign of 1779, 43—44

CHAPTER NINTH.

Of the reduction of Charleſton, and the operations in the country during the ſiege.

General Clinton's expedition againſt Charleſton, 45
Cauſes of the backwardneſs of the inhabitants to defend Charleſton, 45—47
Royal army arrives and lands near Charleſton, ib.
Efforts to draw forth the militia, 48
Lieutenant-colonel Ternant applies to the governor of the Havannah for aid, ib.
Preparations made by the Britiſh for the ſiege of Charleſton, 48—49
By the Americans for its defence, 49—50
The Britiſh naval force croſs the bar, ib.
And paſs the fort on Sullivan's iſland, 51
Charleſton inveſted, 54—55
A council of war recommend a capitulation, ib.
Fort Moultrie ſurrenders, 56
Inhabitants petition for a ſurrender, 58—59
Reaſons juſtifying general Lincoln for not evacuating Charleſton, 59—60
Conſequences of the protracted defence of Charleſton, 59—60
Return of priſoners, 60—61
Reaſons why there were an over proportion of officers, ib.
Liſt of the killed and wounded, 61—62

Page
Exploſion of the magazine, 62—63
Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton routs ſmall parties of cavalry, 63—64
Attacks American cavalry at Monk's Corner, ib.
Colonel Anthony-Walton White attacked by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton at Santee, 65—66
Plundering of the Britiſh, 67
Diſtreſſes of the negro ſlaves, ib.

CHAPTER TENTH.

Of the navy, trade, paper currency, army, militia, and other miſcellaneous matters in South-Carolina, chiefly prior to the reduction of Charleſton.

Harbour of Charleſton infeſted by the Tamar and Cherokee, 68
A coaſting ſchooner armed, called the Defence, 69
The Proſper, a merchant ſhip, alſo armed, and other armed veſſels fitted out, ib.
A navy board is appointed, 69—70
The continental frigate Randolph arrives in Charleſton—ſails on a cruize with other veſſels, and is blown up, 70—71
Schooner Rattleſnake attacked and bravely defended near Stono, 71—72
Alexander Gillon appointed commodore—ſails for Europe to purchaſe or build three frigates, ib.
Hires a frigate from the prince of Luxembourg, 73
His crew ſent on an expedition againſt the iſland of Jerſey—which detains him for a long time from cruizing, ib.
Captures ſundry prizes, 74

Conducts

Page

Conducts eighty-two ſail through the Providence channel, and aſſiſts in reducing the Bahama iſlands under the crown of Spain--arrives in Philadelphia, ib.
The frigate is there fitted out--captain Joyner ſails in her on a cruize, and is captured--the loſs to the ſtate of South-Carolina from this undertaking, ib.
Trade to the Weſt-Indies and to France commences, and is carried on by new hands, 74—75
Its advantages and extent, 76
Is injured by embargoes, 76—77
The paper currency retains its credit longer in South-Carolina than in the northern ſtates, ib.
The advantages of it to the inhabitants, 78—79
Amount of ſtate emiſſions, 80
The cauſes of depreciation, 81—82
The injuries reſulting to the publick and to individuals from the depreciation, 83—85
The emiſſions of April 1778, and of May 1777, called in--the conſequences thereof, 86—87
Planters raiſe the prices of their produce, 87—88
Efforts made by the government to preſerve the credit of the currency--injuſtice of the tender law, 89—90
Reaſons that occaſioned it to take place, 91—92
Taxation not carried far enough by the planters, 92—93
Britiſh make a ſcale of depreciation, 94—96
Paper money ceaſes to circulate, 97
People acquieſce in the publick breach of faith, ib.
War proceeds with vigour without paper money, 98
Specie is imported--a new ſyſtem of finance

Page

is adopted—Robert Morris is appointed ſuperintendent of finance—and renders great ſervices to the United States, 98—100
South-Carolina impoſes three taxes before the fall of Charleſton, 100—101
The South-Carolina regular troops are at firſt provincial, afterwards made continental, 101—102
The efforts of the legiſlature to ſupport and fill their regiments, 102—103
The efforts made by South-Carolina to obtain effectual ſervices from the militia, 104—105
A teſt-oath is impoſed, 106
And thoſe who refuſed it are ſent off, 107

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

Of the methods taken by the Britiſh to keep poſſeſſion of South-Carolina, and by the Americans to recover it. Of the battle of Camden, and its conſequences—hanging the revolted ſubjects—baniſhing the priſoners, and ſequeſtration of eſtates.

Britiſh poſt garriſons over South-Carolina, 108
Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton attacks and defeats lieutenant-colonel Buford, 109—110
Britiſh commiſſioners offer pardon to the inhabitants on their ſubmiſſion to royal government, 111
Inhabitants generally ſubmit, 111—112
Sir Henry Clinton leaves Carolina, and lord Cornwallis is appointed to command the royal forces in the ſouthern ſtates, 114
Britiſh commanders by proclamation call on the inhabitants to arm and fight on the

Page

ſide of Great-Britain, 115—116
Inhabitants revolt or feign ſubmiſſion, 116—117
Methods taken to make the inhabitants of Charleſton ſubmit to the royal government, 117—123
Several refuſe ſubmiſſion, ib.
The patriotiſm of the ladies of South-Carolina, 123—125
Methods taken by the Americans to revive oppoſition to Britiſh government, 125—127
Royaliſts embody in North-Carolina—ſome are defeated—others join the Britiſh, 127—129
Colonel Sumpter heads a party—returns to South-Carolina, 129—131
Indignation of the Britiſh againſt the inhabitants, 131—132
Lord Rawdon's letter to major Rugely, 132—134
His ſeverities to the inhabitants near Camden, 134—135
Captain Huck defeated, 135—136
One thouſand four hundred continental troops are ſent to the relief of the ſouthern ſtates—their diſtreſſes, 138—139
The inhabitants revolt from the Britiſh and join them—the reaſons of their revolt, 139—145
General Gates takes the command of the American army—is defeated near Camden, 145—152
Colonel Sumpter takes a Britiſh detachment near Wateree ferry, but is ſoon after defeated at Fiſhing Creek, 153
The Britiſh exerciſe ſeverities after their victory near Camden, 155—157
Lord Cornwallis's letter to the Britiſh commandant at Ninety-Six, ordering executions of the citizens, ib.
Sundry inhabitants are hanged, 157—159

Page
Devaſtations by the Britiſh, 159—160
Lieutenant-governor Gadſden and others are ſent to St. Auguſtine, 161—163
General Moultrie remonſtrates againſt that meaſure, 164—165
The diſtreſſes of the priſoners ſent to St. Auguſtine, 167—169
A ſecond ſet of priſoners are ſent to St. Auguſtine, ib.
Lord Cornwallis ſequeſters eſtates, 169—170
Mr. Cruden is appointed ſequeſtrator-general —his mode of conducting that buſineſs, ib.
Loyal inhabitants congratulate lord Cornwallis on his victory, 172—173

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

Of colonel Ferguſon's defeat. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's defeat. Of the retreat of the American army into Virginia. Of their return to North-Carolina. Of the battle of Guilford courthouſe. Of lord Cornwallis's march to Wilmington. General Greene's purſuit, and ſubſequent return to South-Carolina. Of the reduction of fort Watſon. Of the battle of Hobkirk's hill near Camden. Of the evacuation of Camden. Of the reduction of fort Motte. Fort Granby. Fort Cornwallis. Of the ſiege of Ninety-Six. Of the retreat of the American army. Of the battle of Eutaw. The retreat of the Britiſh army to the vicinity of Charleſton, and the diſtreſſes of the American army.

American affairs begin to proſper, 174—175
General Marion heads a party in favour of independence, 176
Colonel Ferguſon undertakes to train the militia for the royal ſervice—is defeated at

Page

King's Mountain, 180—185
Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington takes colonel Rugely, 187—188
General Sumpter engages major Weyms and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, 188—189
Continental army moves to Charlotte, ib.
Major-general Greene appointed to command the ſouthern continental army, 190
The difficulties in ſubſiſting the American army, 190—192
General Morgan is detached to Ninety-Six, 193
Defeats colonel Tarleton, 196—199
Britiſh plans for the campaign of 1781, 200—202
Lord Cornwallis purſues general Morgan, 204
General Greene retreats from the Peedee, 205—209
General Marion ſends out detachments which deſtroy Britiſh ſtores near Monk's Corner, ib.
The two diviſions of the American army form a junction at Guilford courthouſe, 210
General Greene retreats to Virginia, ib.
Lord Cornwallis purſues the American army to the Dan—returns and erects the royal ſtandard at Hillſborough, 211—213
Tories in North-Carolina attempt to join the Britiſh, but are defeated or diſcouraged, 213—215
Gen. Greene returns to North-Carolina, and manœuvres till his reinforcements arrive, 215—218
Then engages lord Cornwallis at Guilford courthouſe, 218—222
Lord Cornwallis keeps the field, but ſoon retires to Wilmington, 222—223
General Greene purſues to Ramſay's mill, 223—224
Lord Cornwallis marches to Virginia, ib.
General Greene at the ſame time marches to South-Carolina, 225

Page

General Sumpter takes a circuit through South-Carolina, while the main armies were in North-Carolina, 226—227
Colonel Harden returns to the ſouthward of Charleſton—takes fort Balfour at Pokataligo, 228
General Marion and lieutenant-colonel Lee take fort Watſon, 229
Lord Rawdon engages and defeats general Greene near Camden, 230—231
Lord Rawdon evacuates Camden, 232
Britiſh poſt at Orangeburgh, fort Motte and fort Granby are taken, 233—235
George-Town is evacuated and ſoon after it is burned, 235—236
Captain M'Koy oppoſes the Britiſh near Savannah river, 237—238
Fort Cornwallis at Auguſta in Georgia is beſieged and taken, 239—240
Ninety-Six is beſieged and aſſaulted, 241—244
Gen. Greene is defeated and obliged to retreat, 245
Lord Rawdon arrives with a reinforcement and purſues general Greene, 246
Lord Rawdon returns to Congaree—is oppoſed by general Greene and retreats to Orangeburgh, 247
Gen. Greene offers battle at Orangeburgh, and ſoon after retires to the high hills of Santee, 248
Colonel Cruger evacuates Ninety-Six, retreats to Orangeburgh—and general Greene detaches to the low country, ib.
Sundry ſkirmiſhes take place at the Quarter-houſe, Biggin's church, &c. 249—250
Lord Rawdon retires from Carolina, ib.
General Greene croſſes the Wateree and Con-

Page
Congaree, 251
Is joined by gen. Pickens and gen. Marion, ib.
Engages lieutenant-colonel Stewart at the Eutaw Springs, 252—255
Lieutenant-colonel Maham takes eighty priſoners—General Greene moves into the low country, ib.
The Britiſh retire to the Quarterhouſe, 256
Make excurſions with cavalry, ib.
Lieutenant-colonel Thomſon ſurprizes and defeats militia near Santee, 257
American ſoldiers inactive become diſcontented—their ſufferings, &c. 258—260

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

Of the board of police, and other Britiſh eſtabliſhments. The animoſities between whigs and tories, and the diſtreſſes of the inhabitants. The execution of colonel Hayne. The treatment of priſoners. The violation of publick faith with the royaliſts. Of the aſſiſtance given to the Americans by the French army and navy. Of the operations in Virginia in 1781, *and the reduction of lord Cornwallis. The re-eſtabliſhment of civil government. The Jackſonborough aſſembly. Confiſcation of eſtates. The operations in Georgia, and the evacuation of Savannah. Compacts with the Britiſh for ſecurity of property. Fall of lieutenant-colonel Laurens. The evacuation of Charleſton. Peace.*

The Britiſh inſtitute a military government—Form a board of police—draw up a ſcale of depreciation, and have a retroſpect to paſt payments—the conſequences thereof, 261—263
Lieut. col. Neſbit Balfour—his character, 263—264

The

Page

The provoſt--perſons confined therein, 264
Compariſon between the policy of the rulers under the Britiſh and American adminiſtration, 266—269
Diſtinction between whigs and tories--Their violences againſt each other and the diſtreſſes of the inhabitants, 269—272
Major William Cunningham penetrates into Ninety-Six—kills captain Turner—hangs col. Hayes, and kills ſeveral in cold blood, 272—3
The Indians commence hoſtilities--are chaſtiſed by general Pickens and ſue for peace, 273—5
The diſtreſſes of the inhabitants--the general character of the tories, 275—7
Colonel Hayne takes protection--rejoins his countrymen--is taken priſoner--brought to Charleſton and is executed--his character--the continental officers petition for retaliation--general Greene iſſues a proclamation on that ſubject, 277—286
American priſoners are confined in priſonſhips--general Moultrie remonſtrates againſt this meaſure, 286—288
The diſtreſſes of the continental ſoldiers priſoners of war, 288—9
Lord Charles-Greville Montague inliſts them in the Britiſh ſervice--writes a letter to general Moultrie, offering him the command of his regiment--general Moultrie anſwers his letter, 289—294
Continental officers priſoners of war ſuffer great hardſhips--are ordered to the Weſt-Indies, 294—295
The citizens of the town priſoners of war are refuſed rations, and debarred from working--

Page

working--confined to their houſes and afterwards ſent on board priſon-ſhips, 295—7
Confuſion of Britiſh politicks from capitulating with thoſe whom they eſteemed rebellious ſubjects, 297—8
A general exchange takes place--families of priſoners baniſhed, and in retaliation the families of tories are driven into Charleſton, 298—300
The exiled priſoners are not allowed to rent their houſes, 301
The war in 1780 and 1781, diſtreſſes all ranks--the royaliſts deceived by the proclamations of ſir Henry Clinton, lord Rawdon, lieutenant-colonel Balfour and general Leſlie--their intereſts are ſacrificed to political neceſſity, 302—304
The meaſures that brought round the evacuation of Charleſton effected in Virginia, 304
The ſtate of American affairs in 1776 and 1780 compared, ib.
Lieutenant-colonel Laurens ſent to France, and ſucceeds in his negociations, 305—306
The generoſity of the King of France, 306
The zeal of the French nobility to ſerve in America, ib.
A liſt of their principal officers ſent to America, 307
The French troops are impatient of inactivity--engage in an expedition for the relief of Virginia, but fail, which encourages the Britiſh to fortify themſelves in the Cheſapeak, 308—9
The Britiſh fix on Virginia for the theatre of their operations in the year 1781--form plans for extenſive conqueſts--are oppoſed by

Page

by the marquis de la Fayette—his character, and zeal for America, 309—312
Marquis de la Fayette marches for Richmond and relieves it—eludes lord Cornwallis—forms a junction with gen. Wayne and ſaves the American ſtores at Albemarle old courthouſe, and purſues lord Cornwallis, 313—316
A plan is formed for the reduction of the Britiſh army in Virginia, which is effectually concealed by affecting to lay ſiege to New-York, 317
Britiſh prepare to defend New-York, 318
General Waſhington marches for York-Town, ib.
The French army march through the middle ſtates—their great regularity and harmony with their allies, 318—319
Count de Graſſe enters the Cheſapeak and is joined by count de Barras—the difficulty of their junction, 319—320
The coincidence of the French fleets in the Weſt-Indies and the American continent, and alſo of the French and American armies, 320—321
The character of the marquis de Caſtries, 321—2
Lord Cornwallis fortifies himſelf in York, ib.
The allied arms of France and America begin a regular ſiege—carry two advanced redoubts, 322—24
The Britiſh make a ſally, 324—325
Lord Cornwallis attempts to eſcape into the open country, but fails and is obliged to capitulate, 325—326
The honours denied to general Lincoln are refuſed to lord Cornwallis, ib.
The reduction of lord Cornwallis leads to peace, 328

Congreſs

Page

Congreſs honours general Waſhington and the French commanders, 328—9
A. Middleton moves in Congreſs that lord Cornwallis ſhould not be exchanged, 330—331
Governor Rutledge iſſues a proclamation for receiving into favour thoſe who had joined the Britiſh, which is accepted by many—their apologies for their conduct, 332—3
A legiſlature is convened at Jackſonborough, and addreſſed by governor Rutledge, 333—334
C. Gadſden, eſq. is elected governor, and declines acceptance of the office—his ſpeech on that occaſion, 349—350
J. Mathews, eſq. is elected governor, and entruſted with ample powers, 351
The legiſlature proceed to confiſcate eſtates of the friends of Britiſh government—their reaſons for this meaſure, 351—5
General Leſlie remonſtrates to general Greene againſt the execution of the law for confiſcating eſtates—his anſwer—and governor Mathews's anſwer to the ſame, 355—364
A detachment of the American army commanded by gen. Wayne is ſent to Georgia, 365
The Britiſh burn proviſions and retire within their lines—the force of the garriſon in Savannah, 365—366
American government re-eſtabliſhed at Ebenezer, ib.
Colonel Brown marches out to attack general Wayne, but is defeated, 366—7
The Creek Indians attack general Wayne and are defeated, 367—368
Britiſh propoſe a ceſſation of hoſtilities, 369
Indulgences aſked for and granted to the Britiſh

Page

Britiſh merchants and others in Savannah, 369—370
Savannah is evacuated, 370
A treaty is concluded with the royaliſts near the Peedee, commanded by major Ganey, 371
Britiſh merchants in Charleſton aſk for and obtain indulgencies, 372
General Leſlie aſks for proviſions, and offers to pay for them, but is repulſed—and ſends out parties to collect rice, 372—373
General Giſt marches to Combahee, 373
Lieut. col. Laurens is killed—his character, 374
An attack is made on a Britiſh detachment on James-Iſland—captain Wilmot is killed, 375
A compact is entered into between the Britiſh and Americans for the preſervation of property—the principal articles thereof—the compact is evaded—major Weyms writes an apologetical letter on this ſubject, which is anſwered by governor Mathews, 376—383
Many negroes are carried off by lieutenant-colonel Moncrieff and others, 384
Conjectures about the whole number loſt during the war, ib.
Charleſton is evacuated—preliminary articles of peace announced—the citizens are happy—the army is diſbanded—the virtue of the American army—continental officers are married in South-Carolina—the lenity of the government to the royaliſts—they are permitted to return, and their property to a great amount is reſtored—peace and happineſs take place, 384—387

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION IN SOUTH-CAROLINA.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

Of the reduction of Savannah, the ſubſequent incurſions into South-Carolina from Georgia, and the attack on Savannah by the French and Americans.

THE campaign of ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-eight having paſſed away without any remarkable military enterprize in the northern ſtates, and the attempts of the Britiſh commiſſioners to induce the Congreſs to relinquiſh independence, and their alliance with France, having proved abortive, the commander in chief of the royal army, in New-York, thought proper to turn his arms more im-

mediately againſt the ſouthern ſtates. To this end a plan of operation was concerted with major-general Prevoſt, who commanded in Eaſt-Florida; and it was intended that Georgia ſhould be invaded both on the north and ſouth ſide at the ſame time.

WHILE preparations were making for this conjunct expedition, two bodies of armed men, compoſed of regulars and refugees, made a very ſudden and rapid incurſion into the ſtate of Georgia, from the province of Eaſt-Florida. One of theſe parties came in boats through the inland navigation, and the other marched over land by the way of the river Alatamaha. The firſt demanded the ſurrender of Sunbury; but, on receiving a ſpirited refuſal, expreſſed by lieutenant-colonel Mackintoſh in theſe laconick words—'Come and take it,' they left the place, and retired to a neighbouring iſland. The latter purſued their march towards Savannah. General Screven, with about a hundred militia, repeatedly ſkirmiſhed with this party in their advance through the country. In one of theſe engagements he received a wound from a muſket ball, in conſequence of which he fell from his horſe. After he fell ſeveral of the Britiſh came up, and, upbraiding him with the manner in which captain Moore of Brown's rangers had been killed, diſcharged their pieces at him. Few men were more eſteemed or beloved for their virtues in private life; few officers had done more for their

country

country than this gallant citizen, who loſt his life in conſequence of the wounds received on this occaſion.

THE invaders purſued their march till they were within three miles of Ogeechee ferry, at which place mr. Savage, with his own ſlaves, had erected a breaſtwork to prevent their paſſing. Colonel Elbert, with about two hundred continentals, took poſt in the works erected by mr. Savage, and prepared to diſpute the paſſage of the river. Theſe obſtacles, together with information that the other party had failed in their expectations of reducing Sunbury, determined them to retreat without attempting to croſs. On their return, they laid waſte the country for many miles, burnt St. John's church, a conſiderable number of dwellinghouſes, and all the rice and other grain within their reach, and alſo carried off with them all the negroes, horſes, cattle, and plate, that could be removed either by land or water.

IT is impoſſible to tell whether this burning, plundering incurſion, introductory to a ſerious plan of operations, advanced or impeded the Britiſh deſigns. It certainly alarmed the fears of ſome, and made them more averſe from perſevering in the war. But on others it produced quite contrary effects. Their revenge and indignation was rouſed, and they were ſtimulated to do and ſuffer every thing rather than ſubmit to ſuch conquerors. THE

The citizens of Georgia were ſoon obliged to encounter a much more formidable force. On the twenty-ſeventh of November, ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-eight, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, a brave and able officer, with the ſeventy-firſt regiment, two battalions of Heſſians, four of provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery, embarked from Sandy-Hook for Georgia, eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, under the command of commodore Hyde Parker. The fleet arrived on the twenty-third of December at the iſland of Tybee, near the mouth of the river Savannah, and in a few days after the troops effected a landing. From the landing-place a narrow cauſeway of ſix hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each ſide, led through a ſwamp. Captain Smith, with a ſmall party, was poſted at this cauſeway, to impede the paſſage of the Britiſh; but his force was too inconſiderable to check their progreſs. They puſhed on with ſuch vigour that the American party was almoſt inſtantly diſperſed. The continental army, on which the defence of Georgia reſted, had lately returned from a ſummer expedition againſt Eaſt-Florida, in which their numbers had ſuffered ſo great a diminution, that the whole did not exceed ſix hundred effective men. General Howe, who commanded the Americans, had taken his ſtation on the main road between the landing-place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left, and a moraſs in front, which extended beyond his right flank. The Britiſh advanced till they

they were within a few hundred yards of the American army, when lieutenant-colonel Campbell manœuvred ſo as to cheriſh an opinion, that he meant to attack on the left. For that purpoſe he ordered the firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt to form on the right of the road, thereby to impreſs a full idea that he meant to extend his front in that quarter. At the ſame time a conſiderable part of the royal army was detached to croſs the ſwamp above, ſo as to get in the rear of the Americans. Fortune had thrown a negro into the hands of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, who knew a private path through the ſwamp, by which he promiſed to lead the troops without obſervation or difficulty. At length lieutenant-colonel Campbell, preſuming that the detachment had got effectually round upon the rear of the Americans, ſuddenly advanced, and general Howe ordered an immediate retreat. A few minutes delay would have made a retreat impoſſible, and it was then only practicable in the face of that part of the Britiſh army which had effected their paſſage through the ſwamp. A ſmall body of about one hundred militia, of the ſtate of Georgia, had been previouſly poſted in the rear of the barracks near the town of Savannah. This detachment made ſome oppoſition to the Britiſh, as they were iſſuing from the ſwamp, but they were ſoon compelled to retreat, and their commander, colonel Walton, was wounded and taken priſoner.

The Americans retreated with precipitation, and in diſorder. The Britiſh purſued with ſpirit and rapidity. No victory was ever more complete. Thirty-eight officers, and four hundred and fifteen privates, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, the fort with its ammunition and ſtores, the ſhipping in the river, a large quantity of proviſions, with the capital of Georgia, were all in the ſpace of a few hours in poſſeſſion of the conquerors. The Britiſh purſued the Americans through the town of Savannah. In the impetuoſity of the purſuit, ſome of the inhabitants of that capital, who had not been in the action, were bayonetted in the ſtreets, ſeveral were killed or wounded in their flight, and a large number, finding their eſcape impracticable without ſwimming a deep ſwamp, were obliged to ſue for quarters. The Americans ſaved three field-pieces out of four; but, in the difficult paſſage of the ſwamp, many loſt their arms. That part of the army which eſcaped retreated up the river Savannah to Zubly's ferry, and croſſed over into South-Carolina.

The private ſoldiers who were taken on this occaſion, having reſolutely refuſed to enliſt in the Britiſh ſervice, were crowded on board priſon-ſhips. This confinement, and the heat of the weather in the ſummer of ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-nine, proved fatal to ſuch numbers, that, for a conſiderable time, four or five died every day. The continental officers were ſent to Sunbury on parole, except the reverend Moſes Allen, chaplain

of

of the Georgia brigade, who was denied that privilege. His warm exhortations in the pulpit, and his animated exertions in the field, expoſed him to the particular reſentment of the Britiſh. They ſent him with the private ſoldiers on board the priſon-ſhips. Wearied with a confinement of ſeveral months in that loathſome place, and ſeeing no proſpect of relief, he determined to attempt the recovery of his liberty by throwing himſelf into the river, and ſwimming towards an adjacent iſland; but he was drowned in the perilous attempt. Notwithſtanding his clerical function, he appeared among the foremoſt in the day of battle, and on all occaſions ſought the poſt of danger as the poſt of honour. The friends of independence admired him for his popular talents—his courage and his many virtues.—The enemies of it could accuſe him of nothing more than a vigorous exertion of all his powers in defending what he conſcientiouſly believed to be the rights of his injured country.

AGREEABLY to inſtructions general Prevoſt had marched from Eaſt-Florida into the ſouthern parts of Georgia about the ſame time that the embarkation took place from New-York. The King's troops, in traverſing the deſert that ſeparates Eaſt-Florida from Georgia, were obliged to live for ſeveral days on oyſters. After encountering many difficulties, they heard the welcome news of the arrival and ſucceſs of lieutenant-colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the

fort

fort at Sunbury ſoon followed its example. General Prevoſt marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New-York and St. Auguſtine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been iſſued to encourage the inhabitants to come in, and ſubmit to the conquerors, with promiſes of protection on condition, that, 'with their arms, they would 'ſupport royal government.' Great numbers ſubmitted; but the determined republicans fled up into the weſtern parts of the country, or into the ſtate of South-Carolina. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell acted with great policy in ſecuring the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants. Civil government was after ſome time re-eſtabliſhed, and the lower parts of the ſtate were in peace.

In proportion as the Britiſh gained footing in Georgia, the neighbouring ſtates of South and North-Carolina became anxious for their ſafety. The continental regiments of North-Carolina were with the grand army under general Waſhington. That ſtate, on the firſt intelligence of an intended embarkation from New-York for the ſouthward, generouſly raiſed a body of militia about two thouſand in number to ſerve for five months—put them under the command of the generals Aſh and Rutherford, and ſent them without delay to the relief of their ſouthern neighbours. Theſe reinforcements came forward with ſo much diſpatch, that, had it not been for a delay of ten days near Charleſton before they were furniſhed with

with arms, they would have been in time to have joined general Howe prior to the reduction of Savannah. North-Carolina was, at this late period, unable to arm her own militia; but nevertheleſs ſent them on, expecting that they would be ſupplied by their neighbours. South-Carolina, though better provided, was not able to furniſh arms for the militia of both ſtates. While the Britiſh were in the offing, it was uncertain whether South-Carolina or Georgia was their object. This induced preſident Lowndes and his council to delay the diſtribution of their ſcanty ſtock of publick arms till the deſigns of the Britiſh became evident. The rapid movements of lieutenant-colonel Campbell put him ſo ſoon in poſſeſſion of the capital of Georgia, that the North-Carolina militia made their firſt junction with the American army after their retreat over the river Savannah.

At the requeſt of the delegates from South-Carolina, Congreſs appointed major-general Lincoln, a native of Maſſachuſetts, to take the command of all their forces to the ſouthward. This officer was greatly reſpected for his many amiable qualities, and was acknowledged to be one of the firſt military characters in America. He was ſecond in command in the expedition of ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, when general Burgoyne and his army ſurrendered to general Gates. A conſiderable ſhare of the ſucceſs of that campaign was juſtly aſcribed to his

perſeverance and abilities. He brought to the ſouthward great reputation, and there, though under many diſadvantages, he acquired the farther honour of checking the Britiſh conqueſts, and preſerving the ſtate for upwards of fifteen months againſt a ſuperior enemy. His plans were well formed; but his little army, moſtly conſiſting of militia, was not able to contend with ſuperior numbers, and the diſcipline of Britiſh regular troops. The continentals under his command did not exceed ſix hundred men, and all the reſt of his force was made up of draughts from the inhabitants of the country, changed every ſecond or third month.

Upon advice received of the intentions of the Britiſh to invade the ſouthern ſtates, preſident Lowndes, in order to keep as great a force as poſſible in the country, laid on a general embargo, and prohibited the ſailing of veſſels from any port of the ſtate. This was repeated for two ſucceſſive periods of thirty days each. By proclamation, dated December 28, 1778, he alſo ordered 'the proprietors of neat cattle, ſheep and 'hogs, on the ſea-iſlands and other parts, immediately expoſed to the incurſions of the enemy, 'to remove them off the ſaid iſlands or expoſed 'places, that the Britiſh might be prevented from 'obtaining a ſupply of proviſions.' He alſo addreſſed the legiſlature in an animated ſpeech, of which the following is a part: 'Our inveterate 'and obdurate enemy, being foiled in the north-

'ern

'ern ſtates, and, by the valour and good con-
'duct of the inhabitants, compelled to abandon
'their hopes of conqueſt there, have turned their
'arms more immediately againſt theſe ſouthern
'ſtates, in hopes of better ſucceſs. They are
'now in poſſeſſion of Savannah, the capital of
'Georgia, from whence, if not prevented, an
'eaſy tranſition may be made into this country.
'This ſituation of danger, gentlemen, calls for
'your moſt ſerious conſideration. Our whole
'force and ſtrength ſhould be exerted to ſtop the
'progreſs of the enemy. Government ought to
'be truſted with ample powers to enable it to act
'vigorouſly and deciſively in the preſent con-
'juncture. The militia-law requires an immedi-
'ate reviſal and amendment, to accommodate it
'to our preſent circumſtances, and every meaſure
'that has a tendency to counteract and defeat the
'views and deſigns of the enemy, ſhould be em-
'braced and adopted with alacrity and diſpatch.'
Theſe ſpirited ſentiments were re-echoed by the
houſe of repreſentatives, in an addreſs of which
the following is a part: 'That our cruel and am-
'bitious enemies ſhould turn their arms againſt
'theſe ſouthern ſtates is a circumſtance not un-
'expected. But this laſt nefarious ſtruggle of
'our deſponding foes will, we truſt, under the
'aſſiſtance of Divine Providence, in the end tend
'more to ſhew their impotent malice than the
'wiſdom of their councils or the valour of their
'arms; for that ſame ſpirit which once animated
'our countrymen to drive them diſgraced from

'our

'our coaſts, will again be exerted to effect the 'like happy conſequences. We conceive our-'ſelves bound by all the difference there is be-'tween the horrors of ſlavery, and the bleſſings 'of liberty, to uſe every means in our power, to 'expel them from our country, and for this pur-'poſe to ſtrengthen the hands of government, 'and to reviſe the militia-law, ſo as to facilitate 'our operations againſt them.'

General Lincoln eſtabliſhed his firſt poſt at Puryſburgh, a ſmall village on the northern banks of the river Savannah. A large proportion of the militia of the ſtate of South-Carolina was draughted, put under the command of colonel Richardſon, and marched for the American head-quarters. Their numbers were conſiderable, but they had not yet learned the implicit obedience neceſſary for military operations. Accuſtomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languors of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence on their freeholds, they reluctantly ſubmitted to martial diſcipline. When ordered on command, they would ſome times enquire 'whither they 'were going?' and 'how long they muſt ſtay?'

The royal army at Savannah, being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Auguſtine, the Britiſh commanders formed a ſcheme of extending a part of their forces into South-Carolina. To this end major Gardiner, with two hundred

hundred men, was detached to take poſſeſſion of Port-Royal iſland. Soon after he landed, general Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of men, in which there were only nine regular ſoldiers, attacked and drove him off the iſland. This advantage was principally gained by two field-pieces which were well ſerved by a party of the Charleſton militia artillery, under the command of the captains Heyward and Rutledge. The Britiſh loſt almoſt all their officers, and ſeveral priſoners were taken by a ſmall party of Port-Royal militia, commanded by captain Barnwell. The Americans had eight men killed, and twenty-two wounded.[a] Among the former lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins was the theme of univerſal lamentation. His country regretted the fall of a worthy man, and an excellent officer. A numerous young family ſuſtained a loſs which to them was irreparable.

THIS ſucceſs of the Americans checked the Britiſh, and for the preſent prevented their attempting any enterprize againſt South-Carolina; but they extended themſelves over a great part of Georgia, and eſtabliſhed two poſts, one at Ebenezer, and the other at Auguſta. This laſt place, being high up in the country, was a good poſition for awing the weſtern inhabitants, and a convenient place of rendezvous for the friends of royal government. The Britiſh having eſtabliſhed themſelves in the upper country of Georgia, their next

[a] See note 1.

next object was to ſtrengthen themſelves by the addition of the tories. To this end emiſſaries were employed to encourage them to a general inſurrection. They were aſſured that if they would croſs the Savannah river, and add their force to that of the King's army in Auguſta, they would have ſuch a decided ſuperiority as would effectually cruſh the rebellion, and make a ſpeedy return to their homes practicable on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly embodied, and marched along the weſtern frontiers of South-Carolina. Among thoſe men, thus collected, under the ſpecious denomination of loyaliſts, were great numbers of the moſt infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more ſolicitous for booty than for the honour and intereſt of their royal maſter. As they marched through the ſettlements, they appropriated to their own uſe every kind of property that they could carry off. Colonel Pickins, on receiving intelligence of their progreſs and rapine, collected the whig militia of the diſtrict of Ninety-Six, and placed captain Anderſon at the Cherokee Ford, on Savannah river, to impede their croſſing, whilſt he went to attack a fort in Georgia, in which were collected ſome tories and Britiſh. Unable to ſucceed in this enterprize without ſetting fire to the fort, which his humanity would not permit him to do, he retreated and marched with all ſpeed to the croſſing-place on the river. Here, to his great mortification, he found that captain Anderſon had

had been obliged to retreat, and that the tories had made good their paſſage. Colonel Pickins, with about three hundred men, immediately followed and came up with them near Kettle creek, where an action took place which laſted three quarters of an hour. At length the tories gave way, and were totally routed. Colonel Pickins had nine men killed, and ſeveral wounded. The royaliſts had about forty killed, in which number was their leader colonel Boyd, who had been ſecretly employed by Britiſh authority to collect and head theſe inſurgents. By this action the Britiſh were totally diſconcerted. The tories were diſperſed all over the country. Some ran to North-Carolina, ſome wandered not knowing whither. Many went to their homes, and caſt themſelves on the mercy of the new government. Soon after this defeat and diſperſion lieutenant-colonel Campbell retreated from Auguſta towards Savannah, and, for the remainder of that ſeaſon, the whole upper country of both South-Carolina and Georgia enjoyed domeſtick ſecurity.

THE inſurgents on this occaſion were the ſubjects of the ſtate of South-Carolina, and owed obedience to its laws. They were therefore tried in a regular manner, by a jury, under the direction of the courts of juſtice, appointed by the republican government. Seventy of them were condemned to die by the laws of the ſtate, enacted ſince the abolition of royal government; but the ſentence of the court was executed only on five

five of their principals, and all the reſt were pardoned.

THIS ſecond unſucceſsful inſurrection damped the ſpirit of the tories. Their plans were ill laid, and worſe executed. They had no men of ability capable of giving union to their force. They were diſappointed in all their expectations of aid from the royal army, and had the mortification to ſee a few of their ringleaders executed for treaſon and rebellion againſt the ſtate.

AS the Britiſh extended their poſts up the river Savannah on the ſouth ſide, general Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp, and nearly oppoſite to Auguſta on the north ſide. From theſe poſts he formed a plan of croſſing the river at Auguſta and at Zubly's ferry in two diviſions, with the view of limiting the Britiſh to the ſea coaſt of Georgia. In the execution of this deſign general Aſh, with fifteen hundred North-Carolina militia, and the remainder of the Georgia continentals, croſſed the Savannah river on the 28th of February 1779, and immediately marched down the country as far as Briar creek. At this place, on the fourth day after his croſſing the Savannah, he was ſurprized at three o'clock in the afternoon by lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt. This detachment of the royal army, having croſſed Briar creek, fifteen miles above general Aſh's encampment, came unexpectedly on his rear. The American militia completely ſurprized, were

thrown

thrown into confuſion, and fled at the firſt fire. Several were killed, and a conſiderable number taken. None had any chance of eſcaping but by croſſing the river, in attempting which many were drowned; of thoſe who got over ſafe, a great part returned home, and never more rejoined the American camp. The few continentals, about ſixty, under colonel Elbert, fought with the greateſt bravery; but the ſurvivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at laſt compelled to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Of this diviſion of the army, the whole that remained and rejoined the American camp, did not exceed four hundred and fifty men. This event deprived general Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the Britiſh, the Indians, and the tories of South and North-Carolina. In a few days after, viz. on March 21, 1779, the Congreſs and Lee, two American gallies, were loſt in the river Savannah, in an attempt on a Britiſh galley. In going down the river from Puryſburgh, on this buſineſs, the Congreſs galley ran aſhore within gun-ſhot of the enemy, and the Lee, after a gallant reſiſtance, unſupported by her comrade, was abandoned.

UNEXPERIENCED in the art of war, the Americans were frequently ſubject to thoſe reverſes of fortune which uſually attend young ſoldiers. Unacquainted with military ſtratagems, deficient in diſcipline, and not thoroughly broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often ſurprized,

and had to learn, by repeated misfortunes, the neceſſity of ſubordination, and the advantages of diſcipline. Their numbers in the field, to thoſe who are acquainted with European wars, muſt appear inconſiderable; but ſuch is the difference of the ſtate of ſociety and of the population in the old and new world, that, in America, a few hundreds decided objects of equal magnitude with thoſe which in European ſtates would have called into the field many thouſands. The prize contended for was nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of three millions of people, and five hundred millions of acres of land; [b] and yet, from the remote ſituation of the invading power, and the thin population of the invaded ſtates, this momentous queſtion was materially affected by the conſequences of battles in which only a few hundreds engaged.

THE ſeries of diſaſters which had followed the American arms, ſince the landing of the Britiſh in Georgia, occaſioned, among the inhabitants of South-Carolina, many well-founded apprehenſions for their future ſafety. The aſſembly of the ſtate, deſirous of making a vigorous oppoſition to the extenſion of the Britiſh conqueſts, paſſed a very ſevere militia-law. Hitherto the penalties for diſobedience of orders were inconſiderable, but as the defence of the country, in a great meaſure, depended on the exertions of its inhabitants, much heavier fines were impoſed on thoſe who either

[b] See note 11.

either neglected to turn out, or who misbehaved or disobeyed orders. Every effort was made to strengthen the continental army. Additional bounties, and greater emoluments were promised as inducements to encourage the recruiting-service. The extent and variety of military operations in the open country pointed out the advantages of cavalry; a regiment of dragoons was therefore ordered to be raised, in which the following appointments took place:

Daniel Horry, colonel.
Hezekiah Maham, major.
John Canterier,
John Hampton,
Benjamin Screven,
Richard Gough,
Thomas Giles,
Isaac Dubose,
} captains.

In this time of general alarm John Rutledge, esquire, by the almost unanimous voice of his countrymen, was called to the chair of government. To him and his council was delegated, by the legislature, power 'to do every thing that 'appeared to him and them necessary for the 'publick good.' In execution of this trust he assembled a body of militia. This corps, kept in constant readiness to march whithersoever publick service might require, was stationed near the centre of the state at Orangeburgh. From this militia camp colonel Simmons was detached with a thousand

thouſand men to reinforce general Moultrie at Black-Swamp. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was reſumed. With this intention general Lincoln marched with the main army up the Savannah river, that he might give confidence to the country, and lead into Georgia a body of militia encamped in South-Carolina, under the command of general Williamſon. A ſmall force was left at Black-Swamp and Puryſburgh for the purpoſe of defending Carolina, while offenſive operations were about to be commenced in Georgia. General Prevoſt availed himſelf of the critical time when the American army was one hundred and fifty miles up the Savannah river, and croſſed over into Carolina from Abercorn to Puryſburgh, with two thouſand four hundred men. In addition to this number of regular troops, a conſiderable body of Indians, whoſe friendſhip the Britiſh had previouſly ſecured, were aſſociated with the royal army on this expedition. Lieutenant-colonel Mackintoſh, who commanded a few continentals at Puryſburgh, not being able to oppoſe this force, made a timely retreat. It was part of general Prevoſt's plan to attack general Moultrie at Black-Swamp, to effect which he made a forced march the firſt night after he landed on the Carolina ſide, but he was about three hours too late. General Moultrie had changed his quarters, and being joined by colonel Mackintoſh's party, took poſt at Tulifinny bridge, in order to prevent the incurſion of the Britiſh into the ſtate,

and

and to keep between them and its defenceleſs capital. General Lincoln, on receiving information of theſe movements, detached colonel Harris, with three hundred of his beſt light troops, for Charleſton; but croſſed the river Savannah near Auguſta with the main army, and marched for three days down the country towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to purſue his original intention from an idea, that general Prevoſt meant nothing more than to divert him from his intended operations in Georgia, by a feint of attempting the capital of South-Carolina, and becauſe his marching down on the ſouth ſide of the river Savannah, would occaſion very little additional delay in repairing to the defence of Charleſton. General Prevoſt proceeded in his march by the main road, near the ſea coaſt, without oppoſition, as far as Cooſawhatchie bridge. Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, with eighteen continentals and a much larger number of militia, was detached from general Moultrie's camp, to diſpute this difficult paſs. That gallant officer perſevered in this hazardous attempt, till he was wounded, and had loſt one half of his continentals. The Britiſh fired in ſecurity under the cover of houſes on the oppoſite bank, and had the advantage of a field-piece. On this, the firſt time of their being in danger, the American militia could not be perſuaded to ſtand their ground. A retreat took place, and was conducted by captain Shubrick, over a long cauſeway, in the face of a ſuperior foe.

As

As the Britiſh army advanced into the country they committed many outrages and depredations. The day before the ſkirmiſh juſt mentioned they burnt all the buildings on major Butler's plantation at the Eutaws. The day after they burned the Epiſcopal church, in prince William's pariſh, and general Bull's houſe at Sheldon.

The poſition of general Moultrie at Tulifinny was by no means a ſafe one, for the Britiſh might eaſily have croſſed above him, and got in his rear. A general retreat of his whole force towards Charleſton was therefore thought adviſable. This was conducted with great propriety, though under many diſadvantages. General Moultrie had no cavalry to check the advancing foe, and, inſtead of receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants as he marched through the country, many of the militia left him, and went home. Their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. Several, after providing for their wives and children, rejoined general Moultrie in Charleſton; but the greater number ſought ſecurity by ſtaying on their plantations. The retreating Americans deſtroyed all the bridges in their rear, but there was ſcarce any other interruption thrown in the way of the Britiſh in their march through the country. The abſence of the main army under general Lincoln, the retreat of general Moultrie, the plundering and devaſtations of the invaders, and above all the dread of the royal auxiliaries, the Indian ſavages, whoſe conſtant

ſtant practice is to murder women and children, diffuſed a general panick among the inhabitants, and induced many of them to apply to the Britiſh for their protection. New-made converts to the royal ſtandard endeavoured to ingratiate themſelves with their protectors by repreſenting the capital as an eaſy conqueſt. This flattering proſpect induced general Prevoſt, contrary to his original intention, to purſue his march. Governor Rutledge, with the militia lately encamped at Orangeburgh, had ſet out to join general Moultrie at Tulifinny bridge; but, on the ſecond day of their march, advice was received of general Moultrie's retreat, and that general Prevoſt was puſhing towards Charleſton. This intelligence determined the governor to march with all the force under his command to the defence of the capital.

When general Prevoſt croſſed the Savannah river, Charleſton Neck was almoſt wholly defenceleſs. An invaſion on the land-ſide, by an army marching through the country, was an event ſo unexpected, that no proper proviſion had been made againſt it. If the Britiſh had continued their march with the ſame rapidity with which it was begun, and attempted to take the town by a coup-de-main, they would probably have ſucceeded; but they halted two or three days when they had advanced more than half the diſtance. In this ſhort interval lieutenant-governor Bee and the gentlemen of the council made

made the greateſt exertions to fortify the town on the land-ſide. All the houſes in the ſuburbs were burnt. Lines and an abbatis were in a few days carried from Aſhley to Cooper rivers. Cannon were mounted at proper intervals acroſs the whole extent of Charleſton Neck. Theſe works were planned with great judgment, and executed with uncommon diſpatch by lieutenant-colonel De-Cambray. His exertions procured him the thanks of the aſſembly. He was alſo honoured with a medal ſtruck on the occaſion, expreſſive of the high eſtimation in which his ſervices were held by a grateful country. The militia in the vicinity were ſummoned to the defence of Charleſton. They generally obeyed as far as was practicable on ſo ſhort notice. Publick affairs now appeared in a very critical ſituation. General Lincoln was marching unmoleſted towards the capital of Georgia, apparently evacuated for his reception, while general Prevoſt was advancing with as little interruption to the capital of South-Carolina. General Moultrie's retreating army, governor Rutledge's militia from Orangeburgh, and colonel Harris's detached light corps, which marched nearly forty miles a day for four days ſucceſſively, all reached Charleſton on the 9th and 10th of May. The arrival of ſuch ſeaſonable reinforcements gave hopes of a ſucceſsful defence.

On the 11th nine hundred of the Britiſh army, their main body and baggage being left on the ſouth ſide of Aſhley river, croſſed the ferry, and in

in a few hours they appeared before the town. On the ſame day that they marched down Charleſton Neck, the infantry of an American legionary corps croſſed Cooper river, and landed in the town. This was commanded by brigadier-general count Pulaſki, a Polander of high birth. This illuſtrious officer had been concerned in a bold enterprize in favour of liberty in his native country. He with a few men had carried off king Staniſlaus from the middle of his capital, though ſurrounded by a numerous body of guards and a Ruſſian army. The king, after being a priſoner for ſome time, found means to eſcape, and ſoon afterwards declared Pulaſki an out-law. Nothing could be more congenial to the ſentiments of this generous friend of the rights of mankind than to employ his arms in ſupport of the American ſtates. Influenced by theſe ſentiments, he offered his ſervice to Congreſs, and was honoured by that body with the rank of a brigadier-general. At this period of the war he had been detached from the northern American army to the aid of the ſouthern ſtates, and opportunely arrived when his ſervices were moſt wanted. The men under his command had ſcarcely arrived two hours, when he led eighty of them out of the lines of Charleſton, and ſtationed them in a valley behind a ſmall breaſtwork, with the view of drawing the Britiſh into an ambuſcade. General Pulaſki advanced a mile beyond his infantry, and joined a ſmall party of regular horſe, and mounted militia volunteers,

and with that force engaged the Britiſh cavalry for a ſhort time, and then retreated to his infantry. They, from an eagerneſs to engage, had quitted their works, and advanced to an eminence in front of their firſt ſtation. The advantage of the intended ambuſcade was by this means loſt, and they had to engage a ſuperior number on equal ground. The Britiſh foot ſoon came up, and compelled the Americans to retreat into the town. General Pulaſki had ſeveral ſucceſsful perſonal rencounters with individuals of the Britiſh cavalry, and on all occaſions diſcovered the greateſt intrepidity. The gallant example of this diſtinguiſhed partizan, courting danger on every occaſion, had a conſiderable influence in diſpelling the general panick, and in introducing military ſentiments into the minds of men who had heretofore been peaceable citizens.

MAJOR Benjamin Huger, a diſtinguiſhed officer, and a gentleman of the moſt honourable and liberal ſentiments, was, while commanding a party without the lines, killed in the night of the 11th, through miſtake, by his countrymen.

FORT Johnſon, on James iſland, was blown up with the view of ſtrengthening the garriſon in the town, by the addition of the party ſtationed on the iſland, and of preventing the Britiſh from getting poſſeſſion of it.

As the royal army was unfurniſhed for a ſiege, and

and had nothing to depend on but the chance of a ſudden aſſault, this was confidently expected. That it might not be done by ſurprize, tar-barrels were lighted up in front of the works. The defence of the town reſted on the exertions of three thouſand three hundred men, the greater part of whom were militia wholly unacquainted with military operations. The Britiſh at Aſhley ferry, and before the lines, were about two thouſand four hundred men, but were without cannon or ſhipping.

It was preſumed by the garriſon that general Lincoln, with the army under his command, was in cloſe purſuit of general Prevoſt, but his preciſe ſituation was unknown to every perſon within the lines. To gain time in ſuch circumſtances was a matter of great conſequence. A whole day was therefore ſpent in ſending or receiving flags. Commiſſioners from the garriſon of Charleſton were inſtructed to propoſe 'a neutrality dur-'ing the war, between Great-Britain and Ame-'rica, and that the queſtion whether the ſtate 'ſhall belong to Great-Britain or remain one of 'the United States, be determined by the treaty 'of peace between theſe powers.' This propoſition, being made to lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt, acting as a commiſſioner in behalf of general Prevoſt, he anſwered, 'that they did not come 'in a legiſlative capacity.' On a ſecond interview lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt ended the conference by ſaying, 'That, as the garriſon was in 'arms,

'arms, they muſt ſurrender priſoners of war.' This being refuſed, preparations were made for ſuſtaining an immediate aſſault.

General Prevoſt, diſappointed in his expectation of ſurprizing the town, and fearing the conſequences of an aſſault on the lines, re-croſſed Aſhley river, and, to avoid general Lincoln's army, now in his rear, he filed off from the main land to the iſlands on the ſea coaſt.

While the Britiſh were encamped on James iſland, about ſeventy or eighty of the Americans were poſted nearly oppoſite to them at the plantation of mr. Mathews, on John's iſland. On the 20th of May a party of the troops, commanded by general Prevoſt, croſſed over the narrow river which ſeparates the two iſlands, ſurprized the out ſentinel of the Americans, and extorted from him the counterſign. Poſſeſſed of this criterion, they advanced in ſecurity to the ſecond ſentinel and bayonetted him before he could give any alarm. Without being diſcovered, they then ſurrounded the houſe of mr. Mathews, ruſhed in on the unprepared Americans, and put ſeveral of them, though they made no reſiſtance, to the bayonet. Among the reſt mr. Robert Barnwell, a young gentleman who adorned a very reſpectable family by his many virtues, good underſtanding, and ſweetneſs of manners, received no leſs than ſeventeen wounds; but he had the good fortune to recover from them

them all, and ſtill lives an ornament to his country. The Britiſh having completed this buſineſs, burned the houſe of mr. Mathews.

General Lincoln continued his march for three days in Georgia; but on receiving certain information of the ſtate of affairs in Carolina, he recroſſed the Savannah river, and advanced towards general Prevoſt. Both armies encamped within thirty miles of Charleſton, watching each other's motions, till the 20th of June, when an attack was made on part of the Britiſh army, intrenched at Stono ferry. Agreeably to a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James iſland, with a body of militia from Charleſton, at the ſame time that general Lincoln began the attack from the main; but from miſmanagement and a delay in providing boats, the militia from Charleſton did not reach their place of deſtination till ſeveral hours after the action. The American army conſiſted of about twelve hundred men. Only one half of which were continentals. The militia of North and South-Carolina were poſted on the right, and the continentals on the left. Colonel Malmedy led a corps of light-infantry on the right, and lieutenant-colonel Henderſon on the left. The Virginia militia and the cavalry formed a corps of reſerve. The Britiſh force conſiſted of ſix or ſeven hundred men. They had three redoubts, with a line of communication, and field-pieces very advantageouſly poſted in the intervals, and the whole

whole ſecured with an abbatis. That they might be haraſſed, or lulled into ſecurity, for ſeveral nights preceding the action, they were alarmed by ſmall parties. When the real attack was made, two companies of the ſeventy-firſt regiment ſallied out to ſupport the pickets. Lieutenant-colonel Henderſon ordered his light-infantry to charge them, on which they inſtantly retreated. Only nine of their number got ſafe within their lines. All the men at the Britiſh field-pieces, between their redoubts, were either killed or wounded. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the aſſailants had manifeſtly the advantage; yet the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James iſland was intended, made a retreat neceſſary. The whole garriſon ſallied out on the retiring Americans; but the light troops, commanded by colonel Malmedy and lieutenant-colonel Henderſon, ſo effectually retarded the Britiſh in their purſuit, that the troops commanded by general Lincoln not only retreated with regularity, but brought off their wounded in ſafety.

THE loſs of the Americans on this occaſion in killed and wounded was about one hundred and fifty. [c] Among the former was the gallant colonel Roberts, whoſe ſuperior abilities as an artillery-officer, commanded the approbation of his countrymen, and rendered his early fall the ſubject of univerſal regret.

SOON

[c] See note III.

Soon after this attack the American militia, impatient of abſence from their plantations, generally returned to their homes. This was productive of no inconvenience to the ſervice; for, about the ſame time, the Britiſh left the iſlands in the vicinity of Charleſton, retreating from one to another, till they arrived at Port-Royal and Savannah. The ſea-coaſt of South-Carolina, to the ſouthward of Charleſton, is ſo chequered with iſlands, and interſected with creeks and marſhes, as to make the movements of an army extremely difficult. The Britiſh were much better provided with boats than the Americans, and therefore could retire with expedition and ſafety. Various projects were attempted to enable general Lincoln to purſue them. Boats on wheel-carriages, conſtructed ſo as to ſuit the variegated face of the country, were propoſed; but before any thing of this ſort could be completed, the Britiſh had retreated to places of ſecurity.

This incurſion into South-Carolina, and ſubſequent retreat, contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cauſe, but it added much to the wealth of the officers, ſoldiers and followers of the Britiſh army, and ſtill more to the diſtreſſes of the inhabitants. The forces, under the command of general Prevoſt, marched through the richeſt ſettlements of the ſtate, where there are the feweſt white inhabitants in proportion to the number of ſlaves. The hapleſs Africans, allured with hopes of freedom, forſook their

their owners, and repaired in great numbers to the royal army. They endeavoured to recommend themſelves to their new maſters, by diſcovering where their owners had concealed their property, and were aſſiſting in carrying it off. All ſubordination being deſtroyed, they became inſolent and rapacious, and in ſome inſtances exceeded the Britiſh in their plunderings and devaſtations. Collected in great crowds near the royal army, they were ſeized with the camp-fever, in ſuch numbers that they could not be accommodated either with proper lodgings or attendance. The Britiſh carried out of the ſtate, it is ſuppoſed, about three thouſand ſlaves; many of whom were ſhipped from Georgia and Eaſt-Florida, and ſold in the Weſt-Indies; but the inhabitants loſt upwards of four thouſand, each of whom was worth, on an average, about two hundred and fifty Spaniſh dollars. When the Britiſh retreated, they had accumulated ſo much plunder, that they had not the means of removing the whole of it. The vicinity of the American army made them avoid the main land, and go off in great precipitation from one iſland to another. Many of the horſes which they had collected from the inhabitants were loſt in ineffectual attempts to tranſport them over the rivers and marſhes. For want of a ſufficient number of boats, a conſiderable part of the negroes were left behind. They had been ſo thoroughly impreſſed by the Britiſh with the expectations of the ſevereſt treatment, and even of certain death

from

from their owners, in caſe of their returning home, that, in order to get off with the retreating army, they would ſometimes faſten themſelves to the ſides of the boats. To prevent this dangerous practice the fingers of ſome of them were chopped off, and ſoldiers were poſted with cutlaſſes and bayonets to oblige them to keep at proper diſtances. Many of them, labouring under diſeaſes, afraid to return home, forſaken by their new maſters, and deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, periſhed in the woods. Thoſe who got off with the army were collected on Otter iſland, where the camp-fever continued to rage. Without medicine, attendance, or the comforts proper for the ſick, ſome hundreds of them expired. Their dead bodies, as they lay expoſed in the woods, were devoured by beaſts and birds, and to this day the iſland is ſtrewed with their bones. The Britiſh alſo carried off with them ſeveral rice-barrels full of plate, and houſehold furniture in large quantities, which they had taken from the inhabitants. They had ſpread over a conſiderable extent of country, and ſmall parties viſited almoſt every houſe, ſtripping it of whatever was moſt valuable, and rifling the inhabitants of their money, rings, jewels, and other perſonal ornaments. The repoſitories of the dead were in ſeveral places broken open, and the grave itſelf ſearched for hidden treaſure. What was deſtroyed by the ſoldiers was ſuppoſed to be of more value than what they carried off. Feather-beds were ripped open for the ſake of the

ticking. Windows, china-ware, looking-glaſſes and pictures, were daſhed to pieces. Not only the larger domeſtick animals were cruelly and wantonly ſhot down, but the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery extended ſo far that, in ſeveral places, nothing within their reach, however ſmall and inſignificant, was ſuffered to live. For this deſtruction they could not make the plea of neceſſity, for what was thus killed was frequently neither uſed nor carried off. The gardens which had been improved with great care, and ornamented with many foreign productions, were laid waſte, and their niceſt curioſities deſtroyed. The houſes of the planters were ſeldom burnt, but in every other way the deſtructions and depredations committed by the Britiſh were ſo enormous, that, ſhould the whole be particularly related, they who live at a diſtance would ſcarcely believe what could be atteſted by hundreds of eye-witneſſes.

Soon after the affair at Stono, on the 20th of June, the continental forces, under the command of general Lincoln, retired to Sheldon. Both armies remained in their reſpective encampments till the arrival of a French fleet on the coaſt rouſed the whole country to immediate activity.

After the conqueſt of Grenada, in the ſummer of 1779, count D'Eſtaing, with the force under his command, retired to Cape-Francois. Letters from governor Rutledge and monſieur Plombard, the conſul of France in Charleſton, were

were received at that place by the victorious French admiral. In all of which a ſpeedy viſit to the coaſt of the American continent was recommended, and by ſome of them he was informed that Savannah might be taken by a coup-de-main, and that, on his arrival, he would find every thing ready for an aſſault. This invitation, coinciding with the inſtructions he had received from the King his maſter, to act in concert with the forces of the United States whenſoever an occaſion ſhould preſent itſelf, he ſailed for the American continent, and arrived early in September with a fleet conſiſting of twenty ſail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. As ſoon as his arrival on the coaſt was known, general Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for Savannah; and orders were iſſued for the militia of South-Carolina and Georgia to rendezvous immediately near the ſame place. The Britiſh were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, who had a ſmall command at Sunbury, and lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who was in force at Beaufort, were ordered to repair to Savannah. As the French frigates approached the bar, the Fowey and Roſe, of twenty guns each, the Keppel and Germain armed veſſels, retired towards the town. The battery on Tybee was deſtroyed. To prevent the French ſhips from coming too near the town, the Roſe and Savannah armed ſhips, with four tranſports, were ſunk in the channel. A boom was laid acroſs it, and ſeveral

ſmall

ſmall veſſels were alſo ſunk above the town. The ſeamen were appointed to the different batteries. The marines were incorporated with the grenadiers of the ſixtieth regiment, and great numbers employed both by day and night in ſtrengthening and extending the lines of defence. Count D'Eſtaing made repeated declarations, that he could not remain more than ten or fifteen days on ſhore. Nevertheleſs the fall of Savannah was conſidered as infallibly certain. It was generally believed that in a few days the Britiſh would be ſtripped of all their ſouthern poſſeſſions. Fluſhed with theſe romantick hopes, the militia turned out with a readineſs that far ſurpaſſed their exertions in the preceding campaign. Every aid was given from Charleſton by ſending ſmall veſſels to aſſiſt the French in their landing; but, as the large ſhips of count D'Eſtaing could not come near the ſhore, this was not effected till the 12th of September. On the 16th Savannah was ſummoned to ſurrender to the arms of France. This was urged by the loyaliſts as an argument of the intentions of the French to conquer for themſelves. The true reaſon was, that the American army had not then come up. It would have been therefore abſurd for a French officer to demand the ſurrender of a town to an abſent commander. The garriſon requeſted twenty-four hours to conſider of an anſwer. This requeſt was made with a view of gaining time for the detachment at Beaufort, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maitland, to join the royal army in

Savannah.

Savannah. An enterprize was undertaken to prevent this junction, but it proved unſucceſsful. The pilots would not undertake to conduct to a proper ſtation the frigates deſtined to intercept the communication. Lieutenant-colonel Maitland availed himſelf of this circumſtance, puſhed through by Dawfuſkies, dragged his boats through a gut, and joined general Prevoſt before the time granted for preparing an anſwer to count D'Eſtaing's ſummons had elapſed. The arrival of ſuch a reinforcement, and eſpecially of the brave lieutenant-colonel Maitland, determined the garriſon to riſk an aſſault. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the neceſſity of ſtorming, or of beſieging the garriſon. The reſolution of proceeding by ſiege being adopted, the attention of the combined armies was immediately called to the landing of cannon, and the erecting of batteries. The diſtance of the fleet from the landing-place, together with the want of proper carriages to tranſport the cannon and ſtores from Thunderbolt to Savannah, a diſtance of five miles, conſumed a great deal of time. The works of the town were every day perfecting by the labour of ſeveral hundred negroes, directed by that able engineer major Moncrieff. On the evening of the 23d the French and Americans broke ground, and on the 24th major Graham, with a ſmall party of the beſieged, ſallied out on the French troops, but he was ſoon repulſed. The purſuit was continued ſo near to

the

the Britiſh intrenchments, that the French, on their return, were expoſed to a heavy fire, by which many of them fell. On the night of the 27th major M'Arthur, with a party of the Britiſh pickets, advanced and fired among the beſiegers. This was conducted ſo artfully as to occaſion a firing between the French and American camps. On the 4th of October the beſiegers opened with nine mortars, thirty-ſeven pieces of cannon from the land-ſide, and ſixteen from the water. Theſe continued to play with ſhort intervals for four or five days, but without any conſiderable effect. On the 8th, in the morning, major L'Enfant, with five men, marched through a briſk fire from the Britiſh lines, and kindled their abbatis; but the dampneſs of the air, and the moiſture of the green wood, prevented the ſucceſs of this bold undertaking.

Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, general Prevoſt ſolicited for leave to ſend the women and children out of the town. This humane requeſt was, from motives of policy, refuſed. The combined army was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that it was ſuſpected a deſire of ſecreting the plunder lately taken from the inhabitants of South-Carolina, was a conſiderable object covered under the ſpecious veil of humanity. It was alſo preſumed that a refuſal would expedite a ſurrender. The period being long ſince elapſed which the count had aſſigned for this expedition, and the engineers informing him, that more time muſt

muſt be ſpent if he expected to reduce the garriſon by regular approaches, it was determined to make an aſſault. This meaſure was forced on count D'Eſtaing by his marine-officers, who had remonſtrated againſt his continuing to riſk ſo valuable a fleet, in its preſent unrepaired condition, on ſuch a dangerous coaſt in the hurricane ſeaſon, and at ſo great a diſtance from the ſhore, that it might be ſurprized by a Britiſh fleet. Theſe remonſtrances were enforced by the probability of their being attacked by a Britiſh fleet completely repaired, and with their full compliment of men, ſoldiers and artillery on board, when the ſhips of his moſt chriſtian majeſty were weakened by the abſence of a conſiderable part of their crews, artillery and officers. In a few days the lines of the beſiegers might have been carried into the works of the beſieged; but under theſe critical circumſtances no further delay could be admitted. To aſſault, or to raiſe the ſiege was the only alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter, but a ſenſe of honour determined to adopt the former. The morning of the 9th of October was fixed upon for the attack. Two feints were made with the country militia; and a real attack on the Spring-Hill battery with three thouſand five hundred French troops, ſix hundred continentals, and three hundred and fifty of the Charleſton militia, led by count D'Eſtaing and general Lincoln. They marched up to the lines with great boldneſs; but a heavy and well-directed fire from

the

the batteries, and a croſs-fire from the gallies did execution ſuch as threw the front of the column into confuſion. Two ſtandards were nevertheleſs planted on the Britiſh redoubts. Count Pulaſki, at the head of two hundred horſemen, was in full gallop, riding into town between the redoubts, with an intention of charging in the rear, when he received a mortal wound. A general retreat of the aſſailants took place after they had ſtood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. Count D'Eſtaing received two wounds; ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven of his troops, and two hundred and fifty-ſeven continentals, were killed or wounded; of the three hundred and fifty Charleſton militia, who were in the hotteſt of the fire, ſix were wounded, and the intrepid captain Shepherd killed. [d] General Prevoſt, lieutenant-colonel Maitland and major Moncrieff, deſervedly acquired great reputation by this ſucceſsful defence. The laſt of theſe gentlemen received alſo a very generous donation from his royal maſter. There were not ten guns mounted on the lines on the day of the ſummons, and in a few days he had upwards of eighty. The force of the garriſon was between two and three thouſand, of which about one hundred and fifty were militia. Though twelve hundred of the fencible inhabitants of Georgia had ſubmitted and taken oaths to the Britiſh government, and though every method was uſed to bring them within the lines, yet no more than the inconſiderable number juſt mentioned

[d] See note IV.

tioned could be obtained. The damage ſuſtained by the beſieged was trifling, as they fired under cover, and few of the aſſailants fired at all. The garriſon loſt no other officer than the gallant captain Taws, who defended his poſt with the greateſt bravery. Immediately after this unſucceſsful aſſault, the militia almoſt univerſally went to their homes. Count D'Eſtaing reimbarked his troops, artillery and baggage, and left the continent.

SUBSEQUENT events ſoon juſtified the apprehenſions of thoſe who had expreſſed a deſire that the French troops and marines, employed in the ſiege, might be reimbarked. They were ſcarcely on board when a violent gale diſperſed the whole fleet, and though count D'Eſtaing had ordered ſeven ſhips to repair to Hampton road in the Cheſapeak, the marquis De Vaudreuil was the only officer who was able to execute the order.

THIS viſit of the fleet of his moſt chriſtian majeſty to the coaſt of America, though unſucceſsful with regard to the main object intended, was not without its utility to the United States. It in the firſt inſtance diſconcerted the meaſures already digeſted by the Britiſh commanders; and the arrival of the marquis De Vaudreuil in the Cheſapeak kept them ſo much in ſuſpence, that they could not, for ſome time, determine on any plan of operations.

THE ſiege being raiſed, the continental troops retreated over the river Savannah—a depreſſion of ſpirits ſucceeded, much encreaſed by the preceding elevation. The Georgia exiles, who had arrived from all quarters to repoſſeſs themſelves of their eſtates, were a ſecond time obliged to abandon their country, and ſeek refuge among ſtrangers. The currency depreciated much faſter than ever, and the moſt gloomy apprehenſions reſpecting the ſouthern ſtates generally took poſſeſſion of the minds of the people.

WHILE the ſiege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprize was effected by colonel John White, of the Georgia line. Previous to the arrival of count D'Eſtaing on the coaſt of Georgia, captain French, with one hundred and eleven Britiſh regulars, had taken poſt near the river Ogeechee, about twenty-five miles from Savannah. There were alſo at the ſame place five Britiſh veſſels, four of which were armed, the largeſt with fourteen guns, and the ſmalleſt with four, and the whole manned with upwards of forty ſailors. Captain French, with his regulars, one hundred and thirty ſtand of arms, the before-mentioned five veſſels, with their crews, ſurrendered on the firſt of October 1779, to a party of Americans, conſiſting of colonel White, captain Elholm and three others. By the kindling of a number of fires in different places, the parade of a large encampment, and a variety of other ſtratagems, captain French was fully impreſſed

preſſed with an opinion that nothing but an inſtant ſurrender could ſave his men from being cut to pieces by a greatly ſuperior force. The deception was carried on with ſo much addreſs, that the whole of the Britiſh priſoners were ſafely conducted by three of the captors for twenty-five miles through the country to the American poſt at Sunbury.

THUS ended the campaign of 1779, without any thing deciſive on either ſide. After one year, in which the Britiſh had over-run the ſtate of Georgia for one hundred and fifty miles up the country, and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charleſton, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their ſchemes of co-operation with the tories had failed, and the ſpirits of that claſs of the inhabitants, by repeated diſappointments, were thoroughly broken. The arrival of the French fleet protracted the execution of a plan formed for turning the force of the war againſt the ſouthern ſtates. The want of ſucceſs in the attack on Savannah induced the Britiſh commander in New-York, ſoon after count D'Eſtaing's departure, to reſume it.

IT is the province of an hiſtorian to relate what has happened, and not to indulge in fancied conjectures about probable contingencies. Otherwiſe it might be added, that, if the garriſon of Savannah had been aſſaulted in the firſt inſtance, or, if the ſiege had been continued a fortnight longer,

longer, it is moſt likely that the town would have fallen, and, in conſequence thereof, that the war would have terminated without the reduction of Charleſton, the over-running of the ſouthern ſtates, and that loſs of honour and property which reſulted from the breach of publick faith, pledged for the redemption of the continental and ſtate paper currency at par with gold and ſilver.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER NINTH.

Of the reduction of Charleſton, and the operations in the country during the ſiege.

NO ſooner was the departure of the French fleet from the coaſt of America known and confirmed at New-York, than ſir Henry Clinton ſet on foot a grand expedition againſt Charleſton. The campaigns of 1778 and 1779 to the northward had produced nothing of importance. But he regaled himſelf with flattering proſpects of more eaſy conqueſts among the weaker ſtates. The almoſt uninterrupted march of general Prevoſt through the richeſt parts of South-Carolina to the gates of the capital; the conduct of the planters, who on that occaſion were more attentive to ſecure their property by ſubmiſſion than to defend it by reſiſtance; together with the recent ſucceſsful defence of Savannah—all invited the Britiſh arms to the ſouthward.

UNFORTUNATELY for Carolina, the moſt formidable attack was made on her capital, at a time when ſhe was leaſt able to defend it. In 1776 a vote of her new government ſtamped a value on her bills of credit, which in 1780 could not be affixed to twenty times as much of the ſame nominal currency. At this important juncture, when the publick ſervice needed the largeſt ſupplies, the paper bills of credit were of the leaſt

leaſt value. To a want of money was added a want of men. The militia were exhauſted with an uninterrupted continuance of hard duty. The winter, to others a time of repoſe, had been to them a ſeaſon for moſt active exertions. The dread of the ſmall-pox, which, after ſeventeen years abſence, was known to be in Charleſton, diſcouraged many from repairing to the defence of the capital. The ſix continental regiments, on the South-Carolina eſtabliſhment, in the year 1777, conſiſted of two thouſand four hundred men, but in the year 1780 they were ſo much reduced by death, deſertion, battles, and the expiration of their terms of ſervice, that they did not exceed eight hundred. Government had neither the policy to forgive, nor the courage to puniſh the numbers who, in the preceding campaign, deſerting their country's cauſe, had repaired for protection to the royal ſtandard of general Prevoſt. They who ſtayed at home and ſubmitted, generally ſaved ſome part of their property. They who continued with the American army were plundered of every thing that could be carried away, and deprived of the remainder, as far as was poſſible, by wanton deſtruction. After events of this kind, it was no eaſy matter to call forth the militia from their homes to the defence of Charleſton. The repulſe at Savannah, on the 9th of the preceding October, impreſſed the inhabitants with high ideas of the power of Britain. The impoſſibility of a retreat from an inveſted town, created in many

many an averſion from lines and ramparts. The preſence of ſir Henry Clinton, who, as commander in chief, could order what reinforcements he pleaſed, and who would naturally wiſh by ſomething brilliant to efface the remembrance of his defeat in 1776, concurred with the cauſes already mentioned to diſpirit the country. In this low ebb of affairs, Congreſs recommended to arm the negroes. Had this meaſure, from which the inhabitants were generally averſe, been adopted, arms were not to be had. The North-Carolina and Virginia continentals, amounting to fifteen hundred men, and alſo two frigates, a twenty-gun ſhip, and a ſloop of war, were ordered from the northward for the defence of Charleſton. This was all the aid that could be expected from Congreſs. The reſolution was nevertheleſs unanimouſly taken, in a full houſe of aſſembly, to defend the town to the laſt extremity.

THE royal army, deſtined for the reduction of Charleſton, embarked at New-York on the 26th of December 1779. They had a tedious and difficult paſſage, in which they ſuſtained great damage. This, with their touching at Savannah, made it as late as the 11th of February 1780, before they landed at the diſtance of thirty miles from Charleſton. The aſſembly, then ſitting, immediately broke up, and delegated, 'till ten 'days after their next ſeſſion, to the governor 'John Rutledge, eſquire, and ſuch of his council

'as

'as he could conveniently conſult, a power to do 'every thing neceſſary for the publick good, 'except the taking away the life of a citizen 'without a legal trial.' Inveſted with this authority, he immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the neceſſity was great, few obeyed the preſſing call. A proclamation was ſoon after iſſued, 'requiring ſuch of the militia 'as were regularly draughted, and all the inha-'bitants, and owners of property in the town, 'to repair to the American ſtandard, and join 'the garriſon immediately, under pain of con-'fiſcation.' This ſevere, though neceſſary meaſure, produced very little effect. Theſe efforts, for ſtrengthening the operating force of the American army from domeſtick reſources, were accompanied with ſolicitations to the governor of the Havannah to contribute his aſſiſtance in promoting the ſame deſign. Lieutenant-colonel Ternant was diſpatched from Charleſton, in the month of February, to negotiate this buſineſs. He was authorized to promiſe two thouſand men to co-operate with the Spaniards in the reduction of St. Auguſtine, if they would lend a ſufficient force of ſhips and troops for the defence of Charleſton; but the Spaniſh governor doubted his authority to accede to the propoſition. Had ſir Henry Clinton puſhed immediately for the town, it is probable that he might have poſſeſſed himſelf of it in four days after his landing; but that cautious commander adopted the ſlow method of a regular inveſtiture. At Wappoo, on James

James iſland, he formed a depot and erected fortifications both on that iſland and on the main, oppoſite to the ſouthern and weſtern extremities of the town. On the 29th of March he paſſed Aſhley river, and the third day after broke ground at the diſtance of eleven hundred yards, and at ſucceſſive periods erected five batteries on Charleſton Neck. The garriſon was equally aſſiduous in preparing for their defence. The works that had been thrown up in the ſpring of the year 1779, were ſtrengthened and extended. Lines of defence and redoubts were continued acroſs Charleſton Neck from Cooper to Aſhley river. In front of the lines was a ſtrong abbatis, and a wet ditch picketted on the neareſt ſide. Between the abbatis and the lines deep holes were dug at ſhort diſtances from each other. The lines were made particularly ſtrong on the right and left, and ſo conſtructed as to rake the wet ditch, in almoſt its whole extent. In the centre a ſtrong citadel was erected. Works were thrown up on all ſides of the town where a landing was practicable. Colonel De Laumoy and lieutenant-colonel De Cambray, two French engineers of ability in the ſervice of Congreſs, were indefatigable on this occaſion. They were joined a few days before the ſurrender by brigadier-general Du Portail. The continentals, with the Charleſton battalion of artillery, manned the lines in front of the Britiſh on the Neck between Aſhley and Cooper rivers. The works on South-Bay and other parts of the town, not immedi-

ately expoſed to danger, were defended by the militia. The marine force of the ſtate had been increaſed by converting four ſchooners into gallies, and by the armed ſhips Bricole and Truite, which for that purpoſe had been lately purchaſed from the French. The inferior numbers of the garriſon forbad any attempts to oppoſe ſir Henry Clinton before his landing on the main. Immediately after which lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, with a corps of light-infantry, briſkly attacked his advanced guards. In this ſkirmiſh, captain Bowman was killed, major Hyrne and ſeven privates wounded. Though the lines were no more than field-works, yet ſir Henry treated them with the reſpectful homage of three parallels, and made his advances with the greateſt circumſpection. From the third to the tenth of April, the firſt parallel was completed, and immediately after the town was ſummoned to ſurrender. On the 12th the batteries were opened, and an almoſt inceſſant fire kept up.

A BRITISH fleet, commanded by admiral Arbuthnot, conſiſting of the Renown of fifty guns, the Romulus and Roebuck each of forty-four, the Richmond, Le Blonde, Raleigh, Virginia, each of thirty-two guns, and the Sandwich armed ſhip, croſſed the bar in front of Rebellion road on the 20th of March, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The force oppoſed to this was the Bricole of forty-four guns, the Providence and Boſton, each of thirty-two, the Queen of

France

France of twenty-eight, L'Avanture and the Truite, each of twenty-ſix, the Ranger and brig General Lincoln, each of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame of ſixteen guns. The firſt object of commodore Whipple, who commanded the American naval force, was to prevent admiral Arbuthnot from croſſing the bar; but on the near approach of the Britiſh fleet he retreated to fort Moultrie, and in a few days after to Charleſton. The crews and guns of all his veſſels, except the Ranger, were put on ſhore to reinforce the batteries. On the ninth of April admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom Hole, and taking advantage of a ſtrong ſoutherly wind, and flowing tide, paſſed fort Moultrie without ſtopping to engage it. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's iſland, with three hundred men, kept up a briſk and ſevere fire on the ſhips in their paſſage. Twenty-ſeven ſeamen were killed or wounded. The Richmond's fore-topmaſt was ſhot away, and the ſhips in general ſuſtained damage. The Acetus tranſport ran aground near Haddrell's point. Captain Gadſden, detached with two field-pieces, fired into her with ſuch effect, that the crew ſet her on fire, and retreated in boats to the other veſſels. The royal fleet came to anchor, in about two hours, near the remains of fort Johnſton on James iſland, within long ſhot of the town batteries. To prevent their running up Cooper river, from which they might have enfiladed the lines, was the next object. With this

this intention eleven veſſels had been ſunk in the channel oppoſite to the Exchange. The Ranger frigate and two gallies were ſtationed to the northward of it, to co-operate with the batteries on ſhore, in defending theſe obſtructions, and to attack any armed veſſels that might force a paſſage through Hog-Iſland channel.

THOUGH the greateſt exertions had been made by the gentlemen in power to reinforce the garriſon, and to ſtrengthen the lines, yet their endeavours were not ſeconded by the people. No more country militia could be brought into the town, and very few could be perſuaded to embody in the country. Out of a thouſand North-Carolina militia, commanded by general Lillington, whoſe term of ſervice expired while the ſiege was pending, no more than three hundred could be perſuaded to remain within the lines, though the government of South-Carolina offered to thoſe who would continue in the garriſon very generous encouragement. Seven hundred continentals, commanded by general Woodford, who had marched five hundred miles in twenty-eight days, arrived in Charleſton on the tenth of April. This was the only reinforcement the garriſon received during the ſiege, though the communication between the town and country was open until the middle of April.

THE fire of the beſiegers ſoon diſcovered itſelf to be much ſuperior to that of the beſieged. The former

former had the advantage of twenty-one mortars and royals; the latter only of two. While the lines of approach advanced with ſuch rapidity, that the ſecond parallel, at the diſtance of three hundred yards, was completed on the 20th, the lines of the beſieged, in many places, ſuſtained great damage. On the 14th the American cavalry, as ſhall be more particularly hereafter related, was ſurprized at Monk's Corner, and totally routed. On this event the Britiſh immediately extended themſelves to the eaſtward of Cooper river, and took poſt with two hundred and fifty cavalry and five hundred infantry, in the vicinity of Wappetaw. On the 16th general Lincoln called a council of officers, who were of opinion that the weak ſtate of the garriſon made it improper to detach a number ſufficient to attack this ſeparate corps. The only practicable route of an evacuation was to the right of the town. To deter general Lincoln from attempting this change of poſition, the Britiſh continued to extend and increaſe their force in that quarter. On the 20th and 21ſt a council of officers was again called to deliberate on the important ſubject of an evacuation. They were of opinion, 'that it was unadviſable, becauſe of the oppoſi-'tion made to it by the civil authority and the in-'habitants, and becauſe, even if they ſhould ſuc-'ceed in defeating a large body of the enemy 'poſted in their way, they had not a ſufficiency 'of boats to croſs the Santee before they might be 'overtaken by the whole Britiſh army.' The coun-

cil

cil of war recommended a capitulation with the beſiegers as the moſt eligible mode of effecting the deſired evacuation. In this it was propoſed that the ſecurity of the inhabitants, and a ſafe unmoleſted retreat for the garriſon, with baggage and field-pieces to the north-eaſt of Charleſton, ſhould be granted on the part of ſir Henry Clinton, as an equivalent for the quiet poſſeſſion of the town, its fortifications and dependencies. Theſe terms were inſtantly rejected, and from that time the diſpirited garriſon made a languid reſiſtance. The ſcarcity of proviſions being aſſigned as one reaſon for the intended evacuation, every houſe in town was ſearched, but on enquiry it was found that private dwellings were as nearly exhauſted as the publick magazines. Proviſion had been ſtored in large quantities to the north-eaſtward of Charleſton, but from the low value of the money, the want of carriages and horſes, and the badneſs of roads, they could not be brought to town before the inveſtiture of it was completed. From the failure of the promiſed reinforcements which were expected by the commander of the American army, the communication between the town and country could not be maintained without making ſuch detachments as would have endangered the garriſon.

THE inferior numbers of the beſieged forbad repeated ſallies. The only one made during the ſiege was on the 24th of April, ſoon after the rejection of the offered terms of capitulation.

This

This was conducted by lieutenant-colonel Henderſon who led out two hundred men, and attacked the advanced working-party of the Britiſh, killed ſeveral, and took eleven priſoners. In this affair captain Moultrie, of the South-Carolina line, was killed. The only plan now left for an evacuation, was to withdraw privately, under cover of the night. A council of war held on the 26th pronounced this meaſure impracticable with the preſent numbers of the garriſon; but as reinforcements were expected from the country on the rear of the beſiegers, a hope was ſtill indulged of ſome future favourable moment to effect the wiſhed-for retreat. To forward this deſign, and to preſerve the communication between the town and country, a breaſtwork had been erected ſome days before at Lempriere's, on the eaſt ſide of Cooper river, and ſome heavy cannon mounted on it, but the Britiſh having extended their force into its vicinity, this poſt was ſoon abandoned. On the night of the ſame day the Britiſh gallies paſſed under the fire of the ſouthern batteries of Charleſton from Wappoo to the Cove, and intercepted all communication between the garriſon and fort Moultrie. The inveſtiture was now completed, and the Britiſh army communicated with the fleet on both flanks. Sir Henry Clinton had alſo about the ſame time received a reinforcement of three thouſand men from New-York. Difficulties preſſed hard on every ſide. To ſurrender the garriſon priſoners of war, appeared to many a diſaſter of ſuch magnitude as to be

nearly

nearly equal to any that could take place in attempting the evacuation. To withdraw the regular army clandeſtinely from the town, and leave the citizens to the mercy of an enraged enemy, without giving them the offer of joining in the intended retreat, would have been ungenerous. On the other hand, to have given every citizen his option of retreating with the army or of ſtaying and ſubmitting to the conquerors, would have put it in the power of a diſaffected individual, by deſerting to the enemy, to bring them on the retreating garriſon before they were in their boats. Independent of every difficulty that might have been thrown in the way by the diſaffected among the citizens, the evacuation of the town was, in the opinion of almoſt every military man, abſolutely impracticable. While general Lincoln was preſſed with theſe difficulties, the Britiſh flag was ſeen flying on fort Moultrie. After the ſhips had paſſed Sullivan's iſland, colonel Pinckney, with one hundred and fifty of the men under his command, was withdrawn from that poſt, to reinforce the beſieged army in Charleſton. The feeble remainder of that garriſon, moſtly militia, on the 6th of May ſurrendered, without firing a gun, to captain Hudſon of the Britiſh navy. On the next day ſir Henry Clinton began a correſpondence, and renewed his former terms. At this time all the fleſh-proviſions of the garriſon were not ſufficient to furniſh rations for the ſpace of a week. There was no proſpect either of reinforcements or of ſupplies

plies from the country. The engineers gave it as their opinion that the lines could not be defended ten days longer, and that they might at any time be carried by aſſault in ten minutes. The ſame obſtacles in the way of an evacuation ſtill exiſted with increaſed force. General Lincoln was diſpoſed to cloſe with the terms offered, as far as they reſpected his army; but ſome demur was made in behalf of the citizens. Sir Henry Clinton inſiſted on their being all priſoners on parole, and would promiſe nothing farther,—than that the town-property of thoſe who were within the lines ſhould not be moleſted by the Britiſh troops. He alſo evaded any determinate anſwer to the article which requeſted leave for thoſe who did not chooſe to ſubmit to the Britiſh government, to ſell their eſtates and leave the province. The royaliſts in the ſtate having had this indulgence at all times ſince the abolition of regal government, it was hoped that on a proper repreſentation of theſe matters, in a free conference, the generoſity of the beſiegers would ſoften their demands. This conference was aſked by general Lincoln, without directly refuſing what was offered. Contrary to the expectation of the beſieged, an anſwer was returned that hoſtilities ſhould recommence at eight o'clock. When that hour arrived the moſt vigorous onſet of the beſiegers was immediately expected by the garriſon. But inſtead of this neither army fired a gun for ſome time. Both ſeemed to dread the conſequences of an aſſault, and to wiſh for a

continuance of the truce, and a reconſideration of the propoſed articles. At nine P. M. firing commenced from the garriſon, and was kept up on both ſides for ſeveral hours with unuſual briſkneſs, and did more execution than had taken place in the ſame length of time ſince the commencement of the ſiege. Shells and carcaſſes were thrown inceſſantly into almoſt all parts of the town. Several houſes were burnt, and many more were with difficulty ſaved. By this time the Britiſh had completed their third parallel. Beſides the cannon and mortars which played on the garriſon at a diſtance of leſs than a hundred yards, rifles were fired by the Heſſian jagers with ſuch effect, that very few eſcaped who ſhewed themſelves above the lines. On the 11th the Britiſh croſſed the wet ditch by ſap, and advanced within twenty-five yards of the lines of the beſieged. On this day petitions were preſented from a great majority of the inhabitants, and of the country militia, praying general Lincoln to accede to the terms offered by ſir Henry Clinton. During the ſiege a few ſecret friends of royal government fomented and encouraged a mutinous diſpoſition among the citizens, and ſucceſsfully worked on the fears of the timid. When it was generally known that there was an inſufficiency of animal proviſion in the garriſon, and that the town was completely ſurrounded, theſe men openly urged the neceſſity of an immediate ſurrender. The meaſure of petitioning received its firſt and warmeſt ſupport from the diſaffected,

diſaffected, to whom all capitulations were equal, as they meant to become Britiſh ſubjects. Theſe had the addreſs to ſtrengthen themſelves by the timid, and even by ſome of the braveſt and beſt citizens, who believed that farther reſiſtance was vain. Under theſe circumſtances general Lincoln found it neceſſary to aſſent to the articles as propoſed without any conference or explanation. [e]

THIS was the firſt inſtance in the American war of an attempt to defend a town, and the unſucceſsful event, with its conſequences, makes it probable, that, if this method had been generally adopted, the independence of America could not have been ſo eaſily ſupported.

MUCH cenſure was undeſervedly caſt on general Lincoln for riſking his army within the lines. Though the contrary plan was undoubtedly the beſt in general, yet he had particular reaſons to juſtify his deviation from the example of the illuſtrious commander in chief of the American army. The reinforcements promiſed him were fully ſufficient for the ſecurity of the town. The Congreſs and the governments of North and South-Carolina gave him ground to count upon nine thouſand nine hundred men. From a variety of cauſes, ſome of which have been already ſtated, this paper army, including the militia of both Carolinas, was very little more than one third of that number. As long as an evacuation was

[e] See note v.

was practicable he had ſuch aſſurances of ſupport, that he could not attempt it with propriety. The Britiſh afterwards took ſuch a poſition, that in the opinion of good judges, a retreat could not be ſucceſsfully made. Before the batteries were opened, and for two or three days after, the regular army might have retired from the town; but had the meaſure been attempted within that period, the moſt brilliant ſucceſs would not have prevented the ſevereſt cenſures. After the 16th of April an attempt to withdraw the army would have left the town in the hands of the Britiſh at unconditional mercy, and if unſucceſsful might have been productive of worſe conſequences than a ſurrender by capitulation. Notwithſtanding this unfortunate termination of his command in the ſouthern diſtrict, great praiſe is due to general Lincoln for his judicious and ſpirited conduct in baffling, for three months, the greatly ſuperior force of ſir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot. Though Charleſton and the ſouthern army were loſt, yet by their long protracted defence, the Britiſh plans were not only retarded, but deranged, and North-Carolina, as will hereafter be made evident, was ſaved for the remainder of the year 1780.

THE return of priſoners, tranſmitted by ſir Henry Clinton, on the ſurrender of Charleſton, was very large. It comprehended every adult freeman of the town, between two and three thouſand ſailors, who had been taken from the ſhipping,

ſhipping, and put into the batteries, and the militia of both Carolinas then in garriſon. Theſe ſwelled the number to upwards of five thouſand, and afforded ample materials for a ſplendid account of the importance of the conqueſt; but the real number of the privates of the continental army was nineteen hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, and of theſe five hundred were in the hoſpitals. The number of captive officers was alſo great, and out of proportion to the privates—one major-general, ſix brigadiers, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant-colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains and captain-lieutenants, eighty-four lieutenants, thirty-two ſecond-lieutenants and enſigns. The commanders of the militia from the country, who were moſtly people of the firſt rank, influenced by a ſenſe of honour, repaired to the defence of the town, though they could not bring with them a number of privates equal to their reſpective commands. The continental regiments were completely officered, though the adequate number of privates was greatly deficient. Theſe ſupernumerary regular officers, though without command, were retained in the garriſon from an apprehenſion that their being ordered out would have diſpirited the army, and from an expectation that was confidently indulged in the early parts of the ſiege, that their ſervices would be wanted to command the expected large reinforcements of militia. During the thirty days of the ſiege, only twenty American ſoldiers deſerted. The militia and ſailors were

ſtationed

ſtationed in thoſe batteries, which were not much expoſed, and therefore they ſuffered very little. Of the continentals who manned the lines in front of the beſiegers eighty-nine were killed, and one hundred and thirty-eight wounded; among the former were colonel Parker, an officer who had often diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry and good conduct, and captain Peyton, both of the Virginia line, Philip Neyle, aid-de-camp to general Moultrie, captains Mitchel and Templeton, and lieutenant Gilbank. The Charleſton militia artillery, who were ſtationed at the lines, and did equal duty with the continentals, had three men killed, adjutant Warham and ſeven privates wounded; about twenty of the inhabitants who remained in their houſes were killed by random-ſhot in the town. Upwards of thirty houſes were burnt, and many others greatly damaged.

AFTER the Britiſh took poſſeſſion of the town, the arms taken from the army and inhabitants, amounting to five thouſand, were lodged in a laboratory, near a large quantity of cartridges, and of looſe powder. By the imprudence of the guard, in ſnapping the guns and piſtols, this powder took fire, blew up the houſe, diſperſed the burning fragments of it, which ſet fire to and deſtroyed the workhouſe, the gaol and the old barracks. The Britiſh guard, conſiſting of fifty men, ſtationed at this place, was deſtroyed, and their mangled bodies daſhed by the violent

exploſion

exploſion againſt the neighbouring houſes in Archdale-Street. Several perſons in the vicinity ſhared the ſame fate. Many of the fire-arms were loaded. They, with the cartridges going off, ſent the inſtruments of death in all directions. Upwards of a hundred perſons loſt their lives on this occaſion.

In the tedious and difficult winter paſſage of the royal army from New-York to Charleſton, the horſes deſtined to mount the Britiſh cavalry were loſt. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, after he landed, in a little time obtained a freſh ſupply, and began the career of his victories. Soon after he had procured horſes to mount his cavalry, he joined a body of about a thouſand men, who had marched through the country from Savannah, under the command of general Patterſon. On the 18th of March 1780, a detachment from his corps ſurprized a party of American militia, about eighty in number, at Saltcatcher bridge, killed and wounded ſeveral of them, and diſperſed the remainder. Five days after lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with his legion, fell in with another ſmall party of mounted militia, near Ponpon, who immediately retreated. In the purſuit three were killed, one wounded and four taken priſoners. His next rencounter was on the 27th, with lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, at the head of his regular corps of horſe, between the ferry on Aſhley river and Rantowle's bridge on Stono. The Americans had the advantage, took

ſeven

ſeven priſoners, and drove back the cavalry of the Britiſh legion; but, for want of infantry, durſt not purſue them. At the beginning of the ſiege general Lincoln ordered the regular cavalry, amounting to three hundred men, to keep the field, and the country militia were ordered to act as infantry in their ſupport. The militia, at this period of the conteſt, were uncommonly averſe from doing their duty, and, on various pretences, refuſed to attach themſelves to the cavalry. This important body of horſe, which was intended to cover the country, and keep open a communication between it and the town, was ſurprized on the 14th of April at Monk's Corner, by a ſtrong party of Britiſh, led by lieutenant-colonels Tarleton and Webſter. A negro-ſlave, for a ſum of money, conducted the Britiſh from Gooſe creek, in the night, through unfrequented paths. Although the commanding officer of the American cavalry had taken the precaution of having his horſes ſaddled and bridled, and the alarm was given by his videttes, poſted at the diſtance of a mile in front; yet, being entirely unſupported by infantry, the Britiſh advanced ſo rapidly, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the advanced-guard, that they began their attack on the main body before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. About twenty-five of the Americans were killed or taken. They who eſcaped were obliged for ſeveral days to conceal themſelves in the ſwamps. Upwards of thirty horſes were loſt, and became a ſeaſonable ſup-

ply

ply to the Britiſh who were but badly mounted. After this cataſtrophe all armed parties of Americans, for ſome time, abandoned that part of the ſtate which lies to the ſouthward of Santee.

Soon after this ſurprize, Colonel Anthony-Walton White arrived, and took the command of the remains of the cavalry. At the head of this corps, mounted a ſecond time with great difficulty, he croſſed to the ſouthward of the Santee, and on the ſixth of May 1780, came up with a ſmall Britiſh party at the houſe of colonel Ball, took them priſoners, and conducted them to Lanneau's ferry. Orders had been given in due ſeaſon by colonel White to proper perſons to collect boats, and to aſſemble a body of infantry at this place, to cover the American cavalry in their recroſſing the Santee, but they had not been carried into execution. The zeal of a new ſubject, who had lately ſubmitted to the royal army, prompted him to give immediate notice to lord Cornwallis of colonel White's ſituation. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with a party of his horſe, was diſpatched to the ferry, and he arrived there in a few minutes after the American cavalry, and inſtantly charged them with a ſuperior force. From the want of boats and of infantry, a retreat was impracticable, and reſiſtance unavailing. A rout took place. Major Call and ſeven others eſcaped on horſeback by urging their way through the advancing Britiſh cavalry. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, major Jameſon, and five or ſix

privates, ſaved themſelves by ſwimming acroſs the Santee. About thirty were killed, wounded or taken. The remainder got off by concealing themſelves in the ſwamps. The Britiſh priſoners, who were in a boat croſſing the river, being called upon by their friends to come back, roſe on their guard, and were releaſed.

AFTER the landing of the Britiſh in 1780 depredations, ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed in the eighth chapter, recommenced. As the reduction of Carolina was then confidently expected, they did not commit ſuch wanton waſtes as general Prevoſt's army, but it is hard to tell which exceeded the other in plundering. As the royal army of 1780 was much more numerous, and extended over the country on all ſides of Charleſton, and had the convenience of a large fleet on the coaſt to carry off their ſpoil, they made much greater collections of bulky articles. They poſſeſſed themſelves in particular of indigo to the value of many thouſand dollars. From miſtaken policy, the merchants and others had ſtored the greater part of their commodities without the lines, and very often on or near the water. Theſe collections very generally fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Britiſh on this occaſion plundered by ſyſtem, formed a general ſtock, and appointed commiſſaries of captures. Spoil collected this way was diſpoſed of for the benefit of the royal army. The quantity brought to market was ſo great, that though it ſold uncommonly

commonly low, yet the dividend of a major-general was upwards of four thouſand Britiſh guineas. The private plunder of individuals, on their ſeparate account, was often more than their proportion of the publick ſtock. Over and above what was ſold in Carolina, ſeveral veſſels were ſent abroad to market, loaded with rich ſpoil taken from the inhabitants. Upwards of two thouſand plundered negroes were ſhipped off at one embarkation. Several private gentlemen loſt, in the invaſions of 1779 and 1780, from five hundred to two thouſand dollars worth of plate, and other property in proportion. The ſlaves a ſecond time flocked to the Britiſh army, and, being crowded together, were viſited by the camp-fever. The ſmall-pox, which had not been in the province for ſeventeen years, broke out among them, and ſpread very rapidly. From theſe two diſeaſes, and the impoſſibility of their being provided with proper accommodations and attendance in the Britiſh encampments, great numbers of them died, and were left unburied in the woods. A few inſtances occurred, in which infants were found in unfrequented retreats, drawing the breaſts of their deceaſed parent ſome time after life was gone.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER TENTH.

Of the navy, trade, paper currency, army, militia, and other miſcellaneous matters in South-Carolina, chiefly prior to the reduction of Charleſton.

WHEN South-Carolina firſt adopted the idea of defending herſelf againſt all hoſtile attempts to enforce the claims of the Britiſh parliament, ſhe had not poſſeſſion of a ſingle armed veſſel. The Tamar, a ſloop of eighteen guns, and the Cherokee, an armed veſſel of ſixteen guns, belonging to the King of Great-Britain, lay in the road and harbour of Charleſton, and committed many outrages on private property. To check theſe depredations was the general wiſh, but the means of effecting it did not occur to the inhabitants heretofore occupied in the peaceable lines of agriculture and commerce. The offers of ſervice, made by ſundry ſpirited gentlemen, who propoſed to board them ſword in hand, were uniformly rejected by the popular leaders, who wiſhed to heal rather than widen breaches. Few were acquainted with the nature of gallies, or the method of conſtructing them. With the means of defence in their hands, and the ſpirit to uſe them, the inhabitants of Charleſton, partly from inexperience and partly from pacifick intentions, ſubmitted for a conſiderable time to many inſults from the Britiſh veſſels in the harbour. At laſt it was agreed to arm

arm merchantmen. A coaſting ſchooner was fitted out with ſixteen guns, to which was given the name of the Defence. The Proſper, a merchant-ſhip, was mounted with twenty guns; and ſoon after another coaſting ſchooner, named the Comet, was armed with ſixteen guns. Theſe were originally intended for the ſecurity of Charleſton and the harbour. A galley, called the Beaufort, was built, and three ſmall veſſels were converted into gallies, for the protection of the inland navigation. Another coaſting ſchooner was fitted out with ten guns, which was intended for the protection of Georgetown. In the progreſs of the diſpute, after Britiſh ſeizures had induced the continental Congreſs to authorize reprizals, the Comet, the Defence, and the Beaufort gallies, were converted into brigs, and, cruizing on the high ſeas, brought in ſeveral prizes. The marine department, in its firſt ſtage, was managed by the council of ſafety and the privy-council; but it ſoon became neceſſary to put it under the direction of men of more leiſure and profeſſional knowledge. The legiſlature erected a navy-board, and delegated to Edward Blake, Roger Smith, Joſiah Smith, George Smith, Edward Darrell, Thomas Corbet, John Edwards, George-Abbott Hall, and Thomas Savage, eſquires, 'authority to ſuperintend and direct the 'building, buying or hiring of all veſſels in the 'publick ſervice, and to direct the outfits of the 'ſame, and the furniſhing them with neceſſary 'ordnance, victualling, proviſions, and naval-

'ſtores—

'ſtores—to fill vacancies in the navy or marine—
'and to draw warrants on the treaſury for the ſums
'of money neceſſary for the purpoſes aforeſaid.'
Theſe gentlemen took charge of the above-mentioned publick veſſels, and alſo built a brig of fourteen guns, to which they gave the name of the Hornet. This was the whole of the Carolina navy for the firſt four years of the war.

In the year 1777 the continental frigate Randolph, captain Biddle, put into Charleſton in diſtreſs. After being refitted ſhe ſailed on a cruize, and in eight days returned with four rich prizes. This encouraged the ſtate to attempt ſomething in the ſame way with her little marine. The ſhip General Moultrie, captain Sullivan, the brig Polly, captain Anthony, and brig Fair American, captain Morgan, belonging to private perſons, were taken into the publick ſervice on this occaſion. They, in conjunction with the continental frigate Randolph, and the ſtate-brig Notre Dame, early in 1778 ſailed on a cruize. They deſcried a veſſel to the windward of Barbadoes, and engaged her in the night, preſuming that ſhe was a frigate, but ſhe proved to be the Yarmouth, a ſixty-four gun ſhip. After an engagement of ſeventeen minutes the Randolph blew up, with three hundred and fifteen ſouls on board, who all periſhed excepting four, who, after toſſing about for four days on a wreck, were diſcovered and taken up by a paſſing veſſel. Captain Biddle, who loſt his life on this occaſion, was

prized

prized by his country as one of her very beſt naval officers. Captain Joor, a worthy brave officer of the firſt South-Carolina regiment, with fifty privates of that corps, acting as marines on board the Randolph, all likewiſe periſhed. The other veſſels, eſcaping from the Yarmouth, continued their cruize. The brig Fair American, and ſhip General Moultrie, took a valuable Guineaman, and the brigs Notre Dame and Polly took ſixteen prizes, but only four of them arrived ſafe in a friendly port.

In 1779, when general Prevoſt lay near Charleſton, ſeveral armed veſſels brought him ſupplies from Savannah. To intercept this communication captain Hall, in the brig Notre Dame, captain Tryon, in the brig Beaufort, captain Anthony, in the brig Bellona, and ſome other private armed veſſels, put to ſea under the direction of the navy-board. They fell in with ſeven Britiſh veſſels near Stono, two of which were taken and brought ſafe into Charleſton; one was blown up, and the reſt eſcaped.

About the ſame time ſixty grenadiers of the Britiſh army, with two field-pieces and muſketry, attacked the American ſchooner Rattleſnake, from the banks of the river Stono. Her gallant commander, captain Friſby, defended himſelf with the greateſt bravery, repulſed the aſſailants with the loſs of their captain, and the greateſt part of his men; but finding it impoſſible to retreat

treat with his veſſel, ſet her on fire, and conducted his wounded men with the reſt of his crew, ſafe through the country, though in poſſeſſion of the enemy, to the American camp at Bacon's bridge.

THE great advantages reſulting to the ſtate from their little navy, and the manifold diſtreſs ſuſtained by the trade for want of protection, induced the legiſlature to take methods for purchaſing or building three frigates. Had this meaſure been adopted at the commencement of the war, it is probable that the ſcheme would have been both practicable and advantageous, but all the plans adopted in the firſt period of the conteſt were temporary, and calculated for no other purpoſe than that of immediate domeſtick ſecurity. In the progreſs of the war the paper currency loſt ſo much of its original value, that the means of procuring the frigates could not eaſily be commanded. Alexander Gillon, eſquire, was appointed commodore, John Joyner, William Robeſon, and John M'Queen, eſquires, were appointed captains. The commodities of the country were purchaſed, and ſhipped on the publick account, and the commodore was authorized to borrow money on the credit of the ſtate. He, with his corps of officers, ſailed in the year 1778 for Europe, and there exerted the utmoſt of his abilities in the proſecution of the buſineſs on which he was ſent. Various embarraſſments, from intercepted remittances and other

other cauſes, prevented his completing the object of his miſſion. He could accompliſh nothing more than to purchaſe, on credit, for the uſe of the ſtate, a large quantity of clothing and ammunition, and to hire a large frigate from the prince of Luxembourg for the term of three years, on condition of allowing the prince one fourth of the prizes captured while ſhe cruiſed at the riſk and expence of South-Carolina. The frigate engaged by commodore Gillon, on this occaſion, was built at Amſterdam, originally on account of the United States, and was of a particular conſtruction, mounting twenty-eight Swediſh thirty-ſix pounders on one deck, and twelve Swediſh twelve-pounders on her forecaſtle and quarter-deck, being in dimenſions equal to a ſeventy-four gun ſhip. Two hundred and eighty marines, and ſixty-nine ſeamen, were engaged on behalf of South-Carolina, to man this frigate. Theſe were kept at Dunkirk for ſeveral months, until the ſhip could be got to the Texel. As her great draught of water prevented her from getting over the ſhoals in any other poſition than on her broadſide, their being on board would have proved an incumbrance. Theſe men, though fed, paid and clothed with the money of the ſtate of South-Carolina, were ſent with other troops from Havre-De-Grace without the knowledge or conſent of commodore Gillon, on an expedition againſt the iſland of Jerſey. So many of them were killed and captured in that unfortunate enterprize, which took place in January 1781, that

the frigate was diſabled from going to ſea till the Auguſt following. After innumerable difficulties were ſurmounted ſhe then began to cruize, and in a ſhort time captured ſeveral valuable prizes. Her commander had alſo the ſole direction of the Spaniſh and American marine forces, which in May 1782 reduced the Bahama iſlands under the crown of Spain. The fleet, conſiſting of eighty-two ſail, which undertook this enterprize, was conducted by commodore Gillon from the Havannah through the dangerous navigation of the Providence channel. Soon after the termination of this expedition, ſhe arrived in Philadelphia. After being completely repaired, at an immenſe expence, ſhe put to ſea from that port under the command of captain Joyner. On the ſecond day after ſhe left the capes of Delaware, ſhe was captured by three Britiſh frigates. In this ſpirited attempt to equip a navy, the expences far exceeded the profits. Including the intercepted remittances, and the clothing and ammunition purchaſed by commodore Gillon for publick ſervice, with the diſburſements on account of the frigate, it coſt the ſtate of South-Carolina upwards of two hundred thouſand dollars.

Soon after trade between Great-Britain and South-Carolina ceaſed, a few adventurous individuals began to ſend veſſels to the Dutch and French Weſt-India iſlands. It was early foreſeen that the publick would ſuffer moſt for the want

of

of ſalt. To obviate this inconvenience, eight gentlemen entered into a partnerſhip to purchaſe ſix ſwift-ſailing veſſels in Bermuda, to be employed in importing that neceſſary article. They arrived ſafe, and for a ſeaſon ſupplied the wants of the people. They continued this trade till they were all taken.

COMMERCE ſoon began to flow in new channels. The old merchants, whoſe fortunes were eaſy, unwilling to riſk their capital, generally retired from buſineſs. A new ſet, who had little to loſe, by boldly venturing ſerved their country, and rapidly advanced their own intereſt. Various artifices were uſed to ſcreen this contraband trade from legal ſeizure. Some veſſels had captains of different nations, and regiſters of different ports, and were occaſionally French, Dutch, Engliſh, or American property, as the exigency of the caſe required. Notwithſtanding all this ſubtilty many forfeitures were incurred. The increaſing demand for imported goods, and the ſtoppage of all exportation to Great-Britain, put it ſo much in the power of adventurers to ſell imported articles dear, and to purchaſe country produce cheap, that, in the years 1776 and 1777, the ſafe arrival of two veſſels would indemnify them for the loſs of one. For the encouragement of trade, two inſurance-companies opened offices, which greatly forwarded the extenſion of commerce. A direct trade to France was ſoon attempted, and French veſſels in like manner found

found their way into the port of Charleſton. This intercourſe, in its commencement, proved very unfortunate to the inhabitants of South-Carolina; for out of ſixteen veſſels, richly laden with the commodities of the country, four only arrived ſafe. This heavy blow, for a little time, damped the ſpirit of enterprize, but it ſoon revived.

THE new-raiſed regiments required a ſupply of many articles, which could not be procured in the United States. It was the good fortune of captain Cochran, who was firſt employed on this buſineſs, to be the only one of three trading on the account of the ſtate, who went and returned ſafe. He ſailed for Nantz, loaded with country produce, which he exchanged to great advantage for ſuch articles as were wanted for publick ſervice. The Betſy, captain M'Kenzie, and the Hope, captain Hatter, ſailed ſoon after captain Cochran, but were both taken. The latter of them had on board a great quantity of ſoldiers' clothing, two forty-two pounders, and a large ſupply of other articles, the loſs of which was ſeverely felt. The ſpirit of adventure in the merchants daily increaſed. A conſiderable trade, though much inferior to what had been uſual in times of peace, was carried on in this manner for the greateſt part of the three firſt years of the conteſt, when the operations of the Britiſh were chiefly confined to the northern ſtates. It received ſevere ſhocks from repeated embargoes,

and

and the growing depreciation of the paper currency. To ſubſerve military operations, the ſailing of veſſels was ſeveral times interdicted. Though this was ſuppoſed, by the ruling powers, to promote the general cauſe of America, ſeveral of the moſt diſcerning citizens thought otherwiſe. It ſorely diſtreſſed commerce, and prevented the country from obtaining ſupplies of foreign commodities. It alſo diſcouraged ſtrangers from ſending their veſſels into American ports, as their return, for reaſons of ſtate, was ſo frequently prevented.

The paper currency, iſſued by the Congreſs, retained its value undiminiſhed much longer in South-Carolina than in other parts of the United States. In the latter end of 1776, though the victorious arms of general ſir William Howe threatened the ſubverſion of American independence, yet in Carolina there was no ſenſible depreciation. Men of property had ſo generally ſtepped forward in ſupport of the revolution, that their influence was ſuppoſed to be fully equal to the eſtabliſhment of their new currency, even in a royal houſe of aſſembly, if the conqueſt of the ſtate ſhould reſtore kingly government. The immenſe value of the ſtaple commodities of the country, the animation, unanimity and enthuſiaſm of the people, precluded all fear of its finally ſinking. When depreciation took place, it originated from cauſes very different from a diſtruſt of the final ſucceſs of the revolution. The emiſ-

ſions

ſions of paper currency in 1775 and 1776 were of real advantage to the ſtate of South-Carolina; for the whole money then in circulation was inadequate to the purpoſes of a medium of trade. For ſeveral years before the termination of the royal government, from three to five thouſand negroes had been annually imported into the province. This cauſed the greateſt part of the gold and ſilver, procured at foreign markets for the commodities of the country, very ſoon to centre in Great-Britain. In conſequence of diſputes between the commons houſe of aſſembly, and the King's council, the paſſing of a tax-bill had been for four years prevented. The emiſſions of paper currency had been, by royal inſtructions, for ſome conſiderable time wholly prohibited. In this ſcarcity of a circulating medium, payments were often made by the transfer of private bonds. Bank-bills, to a conſiderable amount, iſſued on the credit of five gentlemen of large eſtates, had a currency equal to the precious metals. Certificates, ſigned by the clerk of the commons houſe of aſſembly, and counterſigned by a few of its members, ſetting forth that the ſums therein ſpecified were due to individuals from the publick, paſſed currently for money, though they were iſſued by the ſole authority of one branch of the legiſlature. The ability of the province to pay its debts, and the religious obſervance of good faith in performing all its engagements, had eſtabliſhed a credit ſuperior to the mines of Potoſi, and gave currency

to

to every thing ſtamped with the authority of government. To a people thus circumſtanced, whoſe credit was unſtained, and who, though deficient in gold and ſilver, abounded in real wealth, the paper currency was very acceptable, and greatly facilitated the transfer of property. It ſet in immediate motion the late ſtagnant ſtreams of commerce—invigorated induſtry—and gave a ſpring to every branch of buſineſs. It had an operation on ſociety ſimilar to what might be expected from a government becoming ſuddenly poſſeſſed of a large quantity of hidden treaſure, and throwing it into circulation for the publick benefit. Inſtead of the war taking any thing from the people at its commencement, it was the occaſion of increaſing their poſſeſſions, by annexing the ſubſtantial value of gold and ſilver to paper of no intrinſick worth.

As hard money was either hoarded up by men of forecaſt, or ſhipped off to purchaſe foreign commodities, and the continental currency was moſtly confined to the northern ſtates, till near the beginning of the year 1778, the ſtate emiſſions did not, for a conſiderable time, exceed the quantity neceſſary for circulation. The ſums ſtruck by the authority of South-Carolina were as follows:

1775,

1775,			
June 14. By reſolution of Congreſs,	£. 598,809	7	6
November 15. Ditto ditto,	119,726	3	9
1776,			
March 6. Ditto ditto,	748,957	4	4
October 19. By ordinance of general aſſembly,	125,937	10	0
December 23. By act of general aſſembly,	486,682	15	0
1777,			
February 14. By ordinance of general aſſembly,	499,785	0	0
March 28. By ordinance of do.	63,470	6	3
1779,			
February 8. By ditto ditto,	4,774,185	0	0
	£. 7,817,553	6	10

Theſe ſums are in the old provincial currency, at the rate of ſeven for one, ſterling money of Great-Britain. Beſides theſe provincial bills, the different emiſſions ſtruck by authority of the continental Congreſs had a currency in South-Carolina, and were by the laws of the ſtate made a legal tender in the payment of debts. The emiſſions from this ſource, in the firſt five years of the war, amounted in the whole to two hundred millions of dollars.

The paper currency retained its value undiminiſhed in South-Carolina for eighteen months, viz.

viz. from June 1775 to January 1777. At this period commenced a depreciation deſtructive to credit, ruinous to the monied intereſt, and greatly detrimental to the ſucceſs of military operations. The progreſs of depreciation was ſcarcely perceivable in the firſt three months of 1777, and was very ſlow throughout that whole year. From the commencement of the year 1778, when great quantities of the continental money began to flow into the ſtate, it became much more rapid. The enormous expences of the armies kept up by Congreſs in the extenſive campaigns of 1775, 1776, 1777, in the northern ſtates, required immenſe ſupplies of money. This could not be raiſed in ſufficient quantities either by taxes or loans. The only practicable reſource left was emiſſions of paper currency under an engagement to be redeemed at a future day. The ſuppoſed neceſſity of the caſe carried theſe emiſſions beyond all prudential bounds. The ſucceſs of general Howe in 1776 and 1777 materially injured the credit of this currency in the middle ſtates. Many intereſted men, in the neighbouhood of the Britiſh operations, judging from their ſucceſs in reducing New-York, Philadelphia, and a great part of the Jerſies, apprehended the final conqueſt of America, and therefore began to realize the Congreſs paper money leſt it might ſink in their hands. The large quantities of counterfeit bills, which were induſtriouſly blended with the true by emiſſaries from the Britiſh garriſons, contributed much to their depreciation.

The common people, not able to diſtinguiſh the falſe from the true bills, began to inſure themſelves by aſking higher prices.

The ſyſtem of ſupplying the army, at firſt adopted by Congreſs, by allowing commiſſions on the amount of ſums expended by commiſſaries and quartermaſters, threw great temptations in the way of thoſe deſcriptions of officers to enhance the price of commodities. The neglect of agriculture, and the embarraſſments of trade, diminiſhed the articles uſually transferred from one to another by the intervention of money, at a time that the rulers of the country employed two printing-preſſes in multiplying the artificial ſigns of wealth. Theſe cauſes of depreciation, operating moſt forcibly in the northern ſtates, produced a greater and earlier depreciation there than in South-Carolina. Money like water will ſoon find its level. Adventurous traders, on being informed that the continental paper currency was of moſt value to the ſouthward, repaired thither with large ſums of it, and contributed much more to the depreciation in South-Carolina than all the emiſſions of the ſtate. The Randolph's prizes, which arrived early in 1778, were ſuppoſed to bring into South-Carolina half a million of dollars. The depreciation that took place previous to this was comparatively trifling, and naturally reſulted from the combined influence of an increaſe of money, and decreaſe of goods. From this time forward an artificial depreciation

preciation was ſuperadded to the natural. The poſſeſſors of the paper money, who either from accident or ſagacity, conjectured right about the event, finding that it daily loſt part of its value, were perpetually in queſt of bargains. As they foreſaw that Congreſs would make further emiſſions for the ſupplies of their armies, they concluded that it would be better to purchaſe any kind of property than to lay up their money. The progreſſive ſuperabundance of caſh produced a daily riſe in the price of commodities. The deceitful ſound of large nominal ſums tempted many poſſeſſors of real property to ſell. The purchaſers, if indulged with the uſual credit, or if they took the advantage which the delays of the courts of juſtice allowed, could pay for the whole by the ſale of an inconſiderable part. The ſanguine, flattering themſelves with the deluſive hopes of a ſpeedy termination of the war, were often induced to ſell leſt a ſudden peace ſhould at once appreciate the money, in which caſe it was ſuppoſed they would loſe the preſent opportunity of ſelling to great advantage. From the ſame principles they hoarded up the bills of credit in preference to purchaſing ſolid property at a ſuppoſed extravagant price. They miſtook the diminiſhed value of the money for an increaſed price of commodities, and therefore concluded that, by buying little, ſelling much, and retaining their paper currency, they were laying the ſolid foundations of future permanent wealth. Subſequent events, in oppoſition to the commonly

received

received maxims of prudence and economy, fully demonſtrated that they, who inſtantly expended their money, received its full value, while they who laid it up ſuſtained a daily diminution of their capital.

THAT the money ſhould finally ſink, or that it ſhould be redeemed by a ſcale of depreciation, were events neither foreſeen nor expected by the bulk of the people. The Congreſs, and the local legiſlatures, for the firſt five years of the war, did not entertain the moſt diſtant idea of ſuch a breach of publick faith. The generality of the friends of the revolution, repoſing unlimited confidence in the integrity of their rulers, the plighted faith of the government, and the ſucceſs of the cauſe of America, amuſed themſelves with the idea, that, in a few years, their paper dollars, under the influence of peace and independence, would be ſunk by equal taxes, or realized into ſilver at their nominal value, and that therefore the ſellers would ultimately increaſe their eſtates in the ſame proportion that the currency had depreciated. The plunderings and devaſtation of the enemy made ſeveral think that their property would be much ſafer when turned into money than when ſubject to the caſualties of war. The diſpoſition to ſell was in a great degree proportioned to the confidence in the juſtice and final ſucceſs of the revolution, ſuperadded to expectations of a ſpeedy termination of the war. The moſt ſanguine whigs were therefore oftenest

duped

duped by the fallacious ſound of high prices. Theſe principles operated ſo extenſively, that the property of the inhabitants, in a conſiderable degree, changed its owners. Many opulent perſons, of ancient families, were ruined by ſelling paternal eſtates for a depreciating paper currency, which, in a few weeks, would not replace half of the real property in exchange for which it was obtained. Many bold adventurers made fortunes in a ſhort time by running in debt beyond their abilities. Prudence ceaſed to be a virtue, and raſhneſs uſurped its place. The warm friends of America, who never deſpaired of their country, and who cheerfully riſked their fortunes in its ſupport, loſt their property, while the timid, who looked forward to the re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government, not only ſaved their former poſſeſſions, but often increaſed them. In the American revolution for the firſt time the friends of the ſucceſsful party were the loſers.

The enthuſiaſm of the Americans, and their confidence in the money, gave the Congreſs the ſame advantage in carrying on the war which old countries derive from the anticipation of their permanent funds. It would have been impoſſible to have kept together an American army for ſo many years without this paper expedient. Though the bills of credit operated as a partial tax on the monied intereſt, and ruined many individuals, yet it was productive of great national benefits,

by

by enabling the popular leaders to carry on a neceſſary defenſive war.

To all the evils of depreciation, thoſe of monopoly were added. Weſt-India and European goods being ſcarce, a few would ſecure excluſively to themſelves almoſt the whole preſent ſtock of particular articles, and then raiſe the price of them by offering, at publick ſales, much more than was current. In this manner, by throwing away ſhillings, they gained pounds. By practices of this kind, commodities were ſometimes raiſed to one third more in one quarter of the capital of the ſtate than was current the ſame moment in another.

To check the evils ariſing from the mixture of counterfeit bills with the true, and to diminiſh the quantity of circulating money, the Congreſs called in the two large emiſſions of 11th of April 1778 and of May 20th 1777, amounting in the whole to forty millions of dollars. The oſtenſible reaſon for this reſolution was, that moſt of the counterfeits were of theſe emiſſions;[f] but it was alſo deſigned to diminiſh the ſuperabundance of circulating paper. Great were the expectations formed from this ſcheme, but it was an additional proof that the worſt conſequences ſometimes flow from the regulations which in theory appear to be founded in wiſdom. The currency in South-Carolina received a deadly wound from this

[f] See note VI.

this effort of its friends, which was ſuppoſed to be well calculated for its preſervation. The reſolutions for calling in theſe emiſſions, not being generally known in Charleſton for ſeveral weeks after they had been adopted by the Congreſs in Philadelphia, the holders of them ſent them to South-Carolina to be immediately realized. The new bills, deſigned to be given in exchange for theſe, which were called in, did not arrive for eight months after the old ones ceaſed to circulate. The poſſeſſors of the called-in emiſſions were ſo deſirous of expending them, that they would purchaſe any thing without regarding the price however extravagant. The common people, not underſtanding the policy of theſe reſolutions, and finding it difficult to diſtinguiſh the true bills of Congreſs from the counterfeits of general Howe, and the current bills from thoſe that were called in, and alſo finding that the beſt of them daily depreciated, were induced to undervalue the whole.

THE planters, to indemnify themſelves for the advanced prices of foreign goods, in the years 1778 and 1779 adopted the miſtaken policy of raiſing the prices of their produce in ſome degree correſpondent to the prices of imported articles. As the merchants bought foreign goods with rice, indigo and tobacco, they were obliged to ſell in proportion to the riſk of importation ſuperadded to the prime coſt of theſe articles. The merchant raiſed on the ſale of his goods to make himſelf

himſelf whole for the high prices of country produce: the planter, from a ſimilar motive, but not with equal juſtice, raiſed his produce on the merchant when he came to purchaſe his next cargo. The advanced prices of the importer were in the firſt inſtance the cauſe, but in the ſecond the effect of the advanced prices of the planter. From the long continuance of embargoes it frequently happened, that, though a merchant ſold his cargo to great advantage, yet the country produce got in return for it, if not immediately purchaſed, would not replace an equal quantity of goods when exported to a foreign market.

MANY attempts were made to preſerve the credit of the currency. State and continental loan-offices were opened, that the neceſſity of farther emiſſions might be diminiſhed; and the hearty friends of American independence depoſited in them large ſums on intereſt. By a ſubſequent act of aſſembly the uſual tax on money at intereſt was remitted on all ſums lent to the publick, and the legiſlature, in the year 1779, offered an intereſt on money lent to the ſtate of three per cent more than was paid by private perſons. Notwithſtanding all theſe douceurs, the ſupplies obtained by loans fell ſo far ſhort of the publick demands, that farther emiſſions could not be reſtrained. When the ſmall quantities of hard money that ſtill remained had begun to be changed for paper-bills at an advance, an act of aſſembly

bly was paſſed, prohibiting any perſon from receiving or demanding for any article a larger ſum in paper than in hard money. A law to prevent the ebbing and flowing of the ſea would have been no leſs ineffectual than this attempt of the legiſlature to alter the nature of things. Gold and ſilver no longer paſſed at par, and contracts were either diſcharged in paper or not diſcharged at all. The bills of credit, being a legal tender in all caſes, would pay off old debts equally with gold and ſilver, though for new purchaſes they were of much leſs value. The merchants and other monied men, who had out-ſtanding debts contracted before or near the firſt period of the war, were great loſers by the legal tender of the paper currency. For eighteen months they were not allowed to ſue for their debts, and were afterwards obliged to accept of depreciated paper in diſcharge of them at par with gold or ſilver. This was not the reſult of intentional injuſtice, but forced on the legiſlature by the neceſſity of the times. When the means of payment were taken from individuals by publick authority, as has been already ſtated, forbidding them to export the productions of the ſoil, it would have been cruel to ſuffer them to be ſued for money borrowed, and expended in cultivating their plantations. When the reſolutions againſt exportation were repealed, the members of the legiſlature ſuppoſed it would have ruined their new currency, if they had in any caſe whatever denied it the credit of a legal tender. Beſides, it

was at that time the fixed reſolution of Congreſs, and the different legiſlatures, to redeem all their paper bills at par with gold or ſilver.

THE publick was in the condition of a town on fire, when ſome houſes muſt be blown up to ſave the remainder. The liberties of America could not be defended without armies—armies could not be ſupported without money—money could not be raiſed in ſufficient quantities otherwiſe than by emiſſions. It was ſuppoſed eſſentially neceſſary to the credit of theſe emiſſions, that they ſhould have the ſanction of a legal tender in the payment of all debts. This involved the ruin of the monied intereſt, and put it in the power of individuals to pay their debts with much leſs than they really owed. This unhappy neceſſity, to do private injuſtice for a publick benefit, proved in many reſpects injurious to the political intereſts of the ſtate, and the moral character of its inhabitants. It diſpoſed thoſe who were loſers by the legal tender, and who preferred their money to the liberties of America, to wiſh for the re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government, and filled others with murmurings and bitter complaints againſt the ruling powers. The publick ſpirited, who were ſincere in their declarations of devoting life and fortune to ſupport the cauſe of their country, patiently ſubmitted to the hardſhips, from a conviction that the cauſe of liberty required the ſacrifice. The nature of obligations was ſo far changed, that he was reckoned

koned the honeſt man, who, from principle, delayed to pay his debts. Inſtead of creditors preſſing their debtors to a ſettlement, they frequently avoided to ſee them, or ſecreted their obligations. The evils occaſioned by depreciation did not terminate with the war. The ſhutting of the courts of juſtice, and authorizing men by law to pay their debts with depreciated paper, made the non-performance of contracts ſo familiar, that ſome of the inhabitants ſince the war have been much more careleſs about the punctual and honourable diſcharge of their engagements than they ever were before.

Much of the evil occaſioned by the legal tender of paper-bills might have been prevented, if the laws reſpecting it had confined its operation to future contracts. A great deal might have been done at an early period by taxation to ſupport the credit of the money. The plate might have been applied to that purpoſe. But the depreciation not being generally foreſeen, no proviſion was made againſt the evils and injuſtice reſulting from it. In the firſt ſtage of the diſpute no American had any idea of its duration. Few had any acquaintance with the philoſophy of money, or the ſubject of finance. And almoſt all were ſanguine in expecting the eſtabliſhment of their liberties, without ſuch long and expenſive ſacrifices. Had even all theſe matters been properly attended to, they would only have moderated, but could not have prevented depreciation.

ciation. The United States had no permanent funds to give ſtability to their paper currency. In the commencement of the war they were without regular governments to enforce the collection of taxes. They were in poſſeſſion of no reſources adequate to the raiſing of ſufficient ſupplies without large emiſſions of bills of credit.

When the buſineſs of taxation was entered upon by the legiſlature, it was not carried to a ſufficient extent. The planters, who form a majority of the legiſlature, were, with a few exceptions, very backward in laying on taxes proportioned to the exigencies of the war. They had much to ſell, little to buy, and were generally in debt. To them the depreciation was no prejudice. From a miſtaken policy they were more anxious to get rid of their private than of their publick debts. When called upon for large ſupplies, though it was evident that a little property would pay a large nominal tax, yet they ſuffered themſelves to be alarmed with great ſounds, and oppoſed liberal grants, as if every paper dollar had been a ſilver one. Some of them could, without one pang of remorſe, pay off old debts with a ſhilling in the pound, and thereby reduce to beggary the helpleſs widow, the diſtreſſed orphan, and the decrepid old man, who had heretofore lived happily on the annual income of their eſtates, but were very compaſſionate to the people of their own claſs, whom they repreſented as unable to pay large taxes, though their

their produce ſold at ten, twenty, or thirty times its uſual price before the war. In the firſt period of the conteſt, when the prohibited exportation of the productions of the ſoil diminiſhed their profits, they frequently complained that the cauſe of their country required larger ſacrifices from them than from the money-lenders, whoſe intereſt was going on without any diminution. On the idea of dividing the burden more equally between them and their creditors, they influenced the legiſlature to reduce intereſt from eight to ſeven per cent; but in the progreſs of the war, when their produce ſold at immenſe nominal prices, and not only the intereſt but the principal of the money-lender was nearly annihilated, the juſt ſchemes of putting all orders in the community on an equal footing, in the diſtribution of neceſſary ſufferings, were entirely forgotten. [g]

It is ſcarcely poſſible that a greater curſe can befal a country than ſuch an unfixed value of money. It ſtrikes at every virtuous principle, exterminates the ideas of honour and juſtice, and turns the attention of people from the ſober paths of induſtry to extravagant adventures and romantick projects. Evils of this kind became intolerable. The legiſlature at laſt adopted an expedient, which promiſed conſiderable relief. This was to prohibit the purchaſing of country produce for any other purpoſe than domeſtick conſumption or exportation, and to put the buyer in

[g] See note VII.

in the power of the ſeller. Several individuals were in the habit of buying far beyond their abilities to pay. Before the ſellers could compel payment in the ordinary courſe of law, a progreſſive depreciation made it practicable for the buyer to diſcharge the ſtipulated nominal ſum with one half of its real value. To remedy this abuſe ſpecial courts were inſtituted, which were authoriſed, in a ſummary manner, to compel payment in three days. The good effects of this were immediately felt. Rice fell in its price near a fifth, and in all probability the artificial depreciation would have been wholly remedied had not the arrival of the royal army prevented the full operation of this judicious law. The ſurrender of Charleſton, on the 12th of May 1780, wholly arreſted the circulation of the paper currency, and put a great part of the ſtate in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh, when many contracts for theſe nominal ſums were unperformed, and after many individuals had received payment of old debts in depreciated paper. The honourable James Simpſon, intendant-general of the Britiſh police, commiſſioned thirteen gentlemen to enquire into the different ſtages of depreciation, ſo as to aſcertain a fixed rule for payment in hard money of out-ſtanding contracts, and to compel thoſe who had ſettled with their creditors to make up, by a ſecond payment, the difference between the real and nominal value of the currency. The commiſſioners proceeded on principles of equity, and compared the prices of country

try produce when the paper currency was in circulation with its prices in the year before the war, and alſo the rate of exchange between hard money and the paper-bills of credit. From an average of the two they fixed on a table which was as follows, excepting that the fractional parts of the original are omitted.

A TABLE,

Aſcertaining the progreſſive depreciation of the paper currency, by taking an average of the prices of gold and ſilver, and the country produce, at different periods.

Date of each period.	Depreciation by value of ſpecie.	Depreciation by value of produce.	Average of depreciation.
1777, April 1	113 per cent.	157 per cent.	135 per cent.
July 1	127	198	163
October 1	176	214	195
1778, Jan. 1	287	287	287
March 1	337	470	404
May 1	440	622	531
July 1	483	569	526
Sept. 1	500	577	538
Nov. 1	563	533	548
1779, Jan. 1	1000	596	798
February 1	1250	661	955
March 1	1350	897	1123
April 1	1400	1191	1295
May 1	1450	1116	1283
June 1	1350	1303	1326
July 1	1720	1355	1537
Auguſt 1	2085	1551	1818
Sept. 1	2340	1691	2015

Date

Date of each period.	Depreciation by value of ſpecie.	Depreciation by value of produce.	Average of depreciation.
October 1	2100	1885	1992
Nov. 1	2911	1983	2447
Dec. 1	3485	2174	2830
1780, Jan. 1	3833	2923	3378
February 1	4457	4291	4374
March 1	5240	4525	4882
April 1	6583	5065	5824
May 1	11,000	5170	8085
June 1	11,000	5229	8114

THE Britiſh ſucceſſes to the ſouthward in 1780, cauſed the continental money to flow back to the middle ſtates. Its ſuperabundance and incurable depreciation at laſt forced on the Congreſs and the ſeveral legiſlatures a ſcale of depreciation, though the face of the bills, the terms of their emiſſion, and every publick act reſpecting them, gave aſſurances that they ſhould be ultimately redeemed at the rate of one ſilver dollar for every paper dollar. In September 1779, the ſupreme council of the ſtates, in their circular letter, rejected with horror the bare ſuppoſition that ſuch a meaſure ſhould ever be adopted;[h] yet in ſix months after it was done with the acquieſcence of a great majority of the people. In other countries ſimilar meaſures have produced popular inſurrections, but in the United States of America, though many ſuffering individuals complained loudly, it was peaceably adopted. Publick faith was violated, but in the general opinion publick

[h] See note VIII.

publick good was promoted. The evils conſequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills at par, inſtead of remedying the diſtreſſes of the ſufferers, would in many caſes have increaſed them by ſubjecting their ſmall remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had in a great meaſure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the poſſeſſion of others who had obtained it at a cheap rate. The ſufferers, who were obliged to receive it at par with gold and ſilver in payment of debts, contracted when there was no depreciation, look up to their country for reimburſement as far as is practicable. It is preſumed, for the honour of the United States, that they will not look in vain.

THE paper currency continued to have a partial circulation for a year after a ſcale of depreciation was fixed. It gradually diminiſhed in value till the ſummer of 1781. By common conſent it then ceaſed to have currency. Like an aged man, expiring by the decays of nature, without a ſigh or a groan, it gently fell aſleep in the hands of its laſt poſſeſſors. It is now remembered with gratitude for the ſervice it has rendered in carrying on the war, and the reimburſement of the holders of it reſts with the legiſlatures, who, as ſoon as circumſtances permit, will doubtleſs do what juſtice and the publick good require. The extinction of the paper currency was an event ardently wiſhed for by the enemies,

and dreaded by the friends, of American independence. The failure of its circulation diſappointed them both. The war was carried on with the ſame vigour afterwards as before, and the people very generally acquieſced in the meaſure, as juſtified by neceſſity.

THE introduction of ſilver and gold, by channels which were opened about the ſame time that the paper currency ceaſed to circulate, contributed much to diminiſh the bad effects of its annihilation. A trade was at that period opened with the French and Spaniſh Weſt-India iſlands, by which ſpecie was imported into the American continent, and a vent was found for the commodities of the northern and middle ſtates. The French army, which arrived in Rhode-Iſland, as has been before mentioned, early in the year 1780, put into circulation a great quantity of coined ſilver; and ſubſidies, to a large amount, were, about the ſame time, granted to the United States by his moſt chriſtian majeſty. It is remarkable that of nine veſſels which came from France with money at different periods of the war, no one, while the treaſure was on board, fell into the hands of the Britiſh.

THE unexpected introduction of ſo much gold and ſilver ſuggeſted to the Congreſs a new ſyſtem of finance. The iſſuing of paper currency, by the authority of government, was diſcontinued, and the publick engagements were made in ſpecie.

cie. All matters relative to the department of the treaſury, or of accounts, were put under the direction of the honourable Robert Morris, eſquire, who arranged the whole with ſo much judgment that economy, method and ſyſtem, ſoon took the place of extravagance, confuſion and irregularity. The perſonal unſullied credit of the ſuperintendent of finance was a powerful auxiliary to the government—it facilitated contracts in behalf of the army—and leſſened the evils which otherwiſe would have reſulted from the arreſted circulation of the paper currency.

In the years 1781, 1782 and 1783, when individuals had loſt all confidence in publick bills of credit, notes were ſucceſſively iſſued by mr. Morris, ſigned with his own name, payable at different periods out of the foreign ſubſidies or domeſtick revenues of the United States. Theſe notes, though at one time, viz. July 1783, they amounted to five hundred and eighty-one thouſand and fifty-ſeven dollars, yet, from the well-known punctuality of their ſigner, had a currency at a time when the credit of the American governments was at the loweſt ebb. Their circulation enabled mr. Morris to anticipate the publick reſources, to the great advantage of the United States. In this criſis of affairs the ſervices of the ſuperintendent of finance were as beneficial to the union as were, in any period of the war, the great abilities of the illuſtrious commander in chief of the armies of the United States.

States. When future ages celebrate the names of Waſhington and Franklin, they will alſo add that of Morris. The ſilent operation of his ſyſtems of finance, and perſonal credit, though leſs viſible to the publick eye, were, in the confuſed ſtate of American affairs, at the commencement of the year 1781, no leſs eſſential to the ſucceſs of the revolution, than the ſplendid military atchievements of the one, or the ſucceſsful negotiations of the other.

THE ſupplies for publick exigencies in South-Carolina, before the reduction of Charleſton, were principally raiſed by taxes on lands and negroes. Three contributions of this kind had been levied between the declaration of independence in 1776 and the ſurrender of the capital in 1780. The firſt was in the year 1777, and was fixed at nearly one third of a dollar per head on negroes, and as much on every hundred acres of land. Had Carolina and the other ſtates taxed heavily at this period, they would have prevented much of the depreciation; but a fear of alarming the people, and too ſanguine hopes of a ſpeedy peace, induced the legiſlature to begin moderately, more with a view of making an experiment than of raiſing adequate ſupplies. The next tax was in 1778, nominally ten times larger than the former, but really at the time of payment worth only about twice as much. In 1779 a tax of twenty paper dollars per head on negroes, and on every hundred acres of land, was levied.

This,

This, about the time of payment, was nearly equal to a ſpecie dollar.

The three regiments which were raiſed on the Carolina eſtabliſhment, in June 1775, were enliſted for ſix months certain, or three years if required. Theſe ſhort terms of ſervice were fixed upon from the hopes, then every where entertained, that American grievances would be redreſſed without proceeding to an eternal ſeparation. They at firſt were raiſed by the authority of the provincial congreſs, and were enliſted ſolely for the domeſtick defence of South-Carolina. A continental army, ſubject to the orders of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, was an after-thought. When that meaſure was adopted, the popular leaders in South-Carolina found great difficulty in connecting their provincial troops with the continentals of the other ſtates. To alter the terms of their enliſtment could not be done without manifeſt injuſtice. To releaſe the common ſoldiers from their provincial obligations, in order to put them in a capacity to re-enliſt as continentals, was a hazardous experiment. The capture of the publick veſſels had deprived them of many comforts. This had diſguſted many to ſuch a degree, that their re-enliſtment as continentals was extremely doubtful. At laſt the matter was compromiſed. They who choſe it were re-enliſted as continentals for the war, with the farther encouragement of two hundred acres of land for their ſervice.

The

The others ſtill remained under their original provincial obligations. The officers very readily agreed to exchange their provincial for continental commiſſions, and were in conſequence thereof conſidered as a part of the army of the United States. The Britiſh availed themſelves of the ſhort period of enliſtment firſt agreed upon, and did not ſeriouſly turn their arms to the ſouthward till the expiration of three years had completed the term of ſervice of the firſt and beſt recruits of the South-Carolina line. To ſupply theſe regiments with every comfort, and to keep them full, was the conſtant ſtudy of government; but the capture of the veſſels deſtined to import clothing and other ſupplies for their uſe, with the diminiſhed value of the currency, precluded the publick from doing that juſtice to theſe brave men which they ſo highly merited.

UNFAVOURABLE reports of the ſufferings of the private ſoldiers greatly obſtructed the recruiting ſervice. Many deſerted, and they who remained ſuffered more than any other order of men. Government did all that was poſſible to ſupport its firſt recruits, and to increaſe their number; but they had not the means of carrying into effect their good intentions. Five hundred paper dollars were propoſed in 1779 as a bounty, to encourage the recruiting ſervice. Though this was nearly equal to fifty hard dollars, yet ſo great were the diſtreſſes of the military, that few

few could be perſuaded to enter the regular regiments.

About the ſame time a law was paſſed to take up vagrants and idle diſorderly perſons who had no viſible method of maintaining themſelves, and to make them ſerve in ſome of the regular regiments, if upon a trial to be held before one juſtice and ſix freeholders they were found to be of the before-mentioned characters. Over and above the recruits procured by this law, it was generally allowed to have produced ſalutary conſequences, by promoting a ſpirit of induſtry in ſome idle perſons, and by reſtraining others from diſorderly practices, though, in a few inſtances, it was ſaid to have been perverted, by the private reſentments of partial judges, to the diſtreſs of ſome individuals who did not anſwer the character deſcribed in the act.

Had America ſeriouſly intended independence from the beginning, ſhe might, in the firſt ſtage of the conteſt, have eaſily recruited one hundred thouſand men, to ſerve during the war; but aiming at nothing but a redreſs of grievances, and flattering herſelf with the hopes of accompliſhing this in a little time, all her ſchemes were of a temporary nature. At laſt ſhe was involved in a tedious and expenſive war, with one of the greateſt powers of Europe, when ſhe was deſtitute of an army, of hard money, of trade, and

of

of a navy, and had few other means of procuring them than by printers' types.

The inſufficiency of the regular regiments, for the defence of the ſtate, made it neceſſary to call the militia frequently into the field. This obſtructed agriculture, without adding to the operative force of the army in any manner proportioned to its increaſed numbers. The expences of militia were greater than the pay of regulars. They had a right to charge the publick with the time ſpent in marching between the camp and their homes. Their private affairs not permitting long abſence from their plantations, the men were frequently changed, and of courſe unacquainted with ſervice. When encamped, their high notions of perſonal liberty made them ſlow to learn that implicit obedience which is neceſſary in military operations. They too often indulged in unſoldierly diſcuſſions of the propriety of orders iſſued by their ſuperiors, and would ſometimes, eſpecially after defeats, without permiſſion, quit their poſts, and return to their plantations. To obtain more effectual ſervice from them the legiſlature in 1778 impoſed ſevere fines for neglect of duty, and for bad conduct when on duty. As the rich were moſt concerned in the defence of the ſtate, to prevent them from ſetting a bad example, the fine of each delinquent was to be in proportion to the amount of his taxes. The ſtate was divided into three brigades. Andrew Williamſon, Richard Richard-

ſon,

ſon, and Stephen Bull, eſquires, were appointed brigadiers. The men in each brigade were ſoon after claſſed into three diviſions, which were to take the field in rotation. But in caſe of an invaſion of any part of the ſtate, the whole, to the diſtance of eighty miles from the place invaded, were liable to be ordered out to its immediate defence.

THE legiſlature, a little while before the reduction of Charleſton, enacted a law, by which delinquents among the militia were ſentenced to ſerve in one of the regular regiments from four to ſixteen months, at the diſcretion of a court-martial. To ſoften theſe ſeverities trials were inſtituted, in which the greater number of judges were privates. Individuals were alſo allowed to exempt themſelves from perſonal ſervice by hiring, at their own expence, a recruit to enter one of the regular regiments. Theſe regulations had only a partial effect. The ſervice wanted by the government could not be effectually obtained from men attached to their families and farms, and reluctantly preſſed from the field of agriculture to that of battle. After they had ſuffered from the oppreſſions of the royal army, they rivalled regular ſoldiers in diſcipline, as well as in courage, and by their ſpirited co-operation with the continental troops, as ſhall hereafter be related, had a conſiderable ſhare in recovering the ſtate from the Britiſh forces.

VERY ſoon after the declaration of independence, the danger of retaining men in the ſtate, who wiſhed to ſubvert its conſtitution, ſuggeſted to the legiſlature of South-Carolina the neceſſity of ſecuring itſelf againſt thoſe who ſtill abetted royal government, and wiſhed for its re-eſtabliſhment. A teſt-oath was therefore framed in 1776; but this was tendered only to thoſe perſons who had given ſome open evidence of their diſaffection. The officers of the King, under the late regal conſtitution, and a few others of ſuſpected characters, having, on requiſition, refuſed to take it, were obliged to leave the ſtate. In the year 1778 the legiſlature enacted an oath or affirmation of allegiance, to be taken by every adult male, which was in the following words: 'I, A B, do ſwear or affirm, that I will bear 'true faith and allegiance to the ſtate of South-'Carolina, and will faithfully ſupport, maintain 'and defend the ſame, againſt George the third, 'King of Great-Britain, his ſucceſſors, abettors, 'and all other enemies and oppoſers whatſoever, 'and will, without delay, diſcover to the execu-'tive authority, or ſome one juſtice of the peace 'in this ſtate, all plots and conſpiracies that ſhall 'come to my knowledge againſt the ſaid ſtate, 'or any other of the United States of America. 'So help me GOD.' In addition to this, an oath to abjure the King of Great-Britain was required of all officers of the ſtate, both civil and military. They who refuſed the oath or affirmation above recited were obliged to depart the country; but they

they had their choice of either leaving their families, or of taking them away. They were alſo allowed to ſell and carry off their eſtates, or to appoint attornies in their abſence to take care of them. The defence of the country, requiring both the perſonal ſervices and the contribution of its inhabitants, that all might be on an equal footing, the unſold eſtates of theſe gentlemen, in common with other abſentees, were taxed double; but the idea of confiſcation, at this period of the conteſt, was, by the legiſlature, uniformly reprobated. Notwithſtanding this humane line of conduct, no indulgence with regard to property was given by Britiſh authority to the citizens of South-Carolina after the reduction of Charleſton. In vain was leave ſolicited in the capitulation, for thoſe who choſe it to ſell their eſtates and leave the country. This was not only refuſed, but their eſtates were ſequeſtered, and they deprived of the means of ſupporting themſelves, unleſs they would ſubmit to a government which many of them had abjured, and all of them had renounced. But of this in the following chapter.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

Of the methods taken by the Britiſh to keep poſſeſſion of South-Carolina, and by the Americans to recover it. Of the battle of Camden, and its conſequences—hanging the revolted ſubjects—baniſhing the priſoners, and ſequeſtration of eſtates.

NEVER did any people more miſtake their true intereſt than the inhabitants of South-Carolina, in permitting the Britiſh to obtain a permanent reſidence in their country. Exhauſted with the fatigues, and impoveriſhed by the conſequences of a war into which they had been gradually drawn, without any intention originally of puſhing it ſo far, ſome flattered themſelves that the reduction of Charleſton would terminate their ſufferings; but that event proved to them the commencement of ſtill greater evils.

THE capital having ſurrendered, the next object with the Britiſh was to ſecure the general ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants. To this end they poſted garriſons in different parts of the country, and marched with a large body of their troops over the Santee towards that extremity of the ſtate which borders on the moſt populous ſettlements of North-Carolina. This cauſed an immediate retreat of ſome parties of Americans who had advanced into the upper parts of South-Carolina with the expectation of relieving Charleſton.

Among

Among the corps which had come forward with that view there was one conſiſting of about three hundred continentals, the rear of the Virginia line, commanded by colonel Buford. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with about ſeven hundred horſe and foot, was diſpatched in queſt of this party. That enterpriſing officer, having mounted his infantry, marched one hundred miles in fifty-four hours, came up with them at the Waxhaws, and demanded their ſurrender on terms ſimilar to thoſe granted to the continentals taken in Charleſton. While the flags were paſſing and repaſſing on this buſineſs, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton kept his men in motion, and when the truce was ended, had nearly ſurrounded his adverſaries. An action immediately enſued. This took place on the 29th of May, ſeventeen days after the ſurrender of Charleſton. Colonel Buford's party, having partaken of the general conſternation occaſioned by the Britiſh ſucceſſes, made a feeble reſiſtance, and ſoon ſued for quarters. A few, notwithſtanding, continued to fire. The Britiſh cavalry advanced, but were not oppoſed by the main body of the continentals, who conceived that they were precluded by their ſubmiſſion from making oppoſition. On the pretence of this accidental firing of a few, the Britiſh legion was directed to charge men who had laid down their arms. In conſequence of this order the unreſiſting Americans, praying for quarters, were chopped in pieces. Some loſt their hands, others their arms, and almoſt every one was

mangled

mangled in an inhuman manner. Five out of ſix of the whole number of the Americans were, by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's official account of this bloody ſcene,[i] either killed or ſo badly wounded as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle, and by the ſame account, this took place though they made ſuch ineffectual oppoſition as only to kill five and wound twelve of the Britiſh. Lord Cornwallis beſtowed on lieutenant-colonel Tarleton the higheſt encomiums for this enterprize, and recommended him in a ſpecial manner to royal favour.[k] This barbarous maſſacre gave a more ſanguinary turn to the war. Tarleton's quarters became proverbial, and in the ſubſequent battles a ſpirit of revenge gave a keener edge to military reſentments.

THIS total rout of all the continental troops of the ſouthern ſtates, which were not made priſoners by the capitulation of Charleſton, together with the univerſal panick occaſioned by the ſurrender of that capital, ſuſpended, for about ſix weeks, all military oppoſition to the progreſs of the Britiſh army. In this hour of diſtreſs to the friends of independence, the royal commander, by proclamation, denounced the extremity of vengeance againſt thoſe of the inhabitants who ſhould continue, by force of arms, to oppoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government.[l] The conquerors did not reſt the royal cauſe excluſively on

[i] See note IX. [k] See note X.

[l] See note XI.

on threats. On the firſt of June, nineteen days after the ſurrender of Charleſton, ſir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to the revolted colonies, by proclamation, offered 'to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for their paſt treaſonable offences, and a reinſtatement in the poſſeſſion of all thoſe rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free Britiſh government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legiſlatures.' [m] Theſe ſpecious offers, together with the impoſſibility of their fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the ſtate might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all ſchemes of farther reſiſtance. The militia to the ſouthward of Charleſton ſent in a flag to the commanding officer of the royal detachment at Beaufort, and obtained terms ſimilar to thoſe granted to the inhabitants of the capital. At Camden the inhabitants met the Britiſh with a flag, and negotiated for themſelves. The people of Ninety-Six aſſembled to deliberate what courſe they ſhould hold in ſuch a difficult conjuncture. Being informed that the Britiſh were advancing to that part of the ſtate, they ſent a flag to the commanding officer, from whom they learned that ſir Henry Clinton had delegated full powers to captain Richard Pearis to treat with them. Articles of capitulation were immediately propoſed, and ſoon after ratified, by which

[m] See note XII.

which they were promiſed the ſame ſecurity for their perſons and property which Britiſh ſubjects enjoyed. They ſubmitted under a miſtaken opinion that, agreeably to an early proclamation of ſir Henry Clinton, previous to the ſurrender of Charleſton, they were to be either neutrals or priſoners on parole. A later proclamation of June third 1780, which, as ſhall ſoon be related, made a change of allegiance neceſſary to their being in the King's peace, was kept out of ſight. By this manœuvre the King of Great-Britain gained, without their knowledge, a large acceſſion of nominal ſubjects. Excepting the extremities of the ſtate, which border on North-Carolina, the inhabitants who continued in the country generally preferred ſubmiſſion to reſiſtance. The difference between evacuating and defending towns became apparent, and fully proved that the firſt was the beſt plan of defence for America.

THOUGH the progreſs of the Britiſh arms was rapid, yet it was far ſhort of what was originally expected. Their ſchemes had been deranged as to time, and new events made it neceſſary for them to divide their forces, and to alter their plans. The embarkation of the royal army from New-York, for the reduction of Charleſton, had been fixed as early as September 1779, but the unexpected arrival of count D'Eſtaing, with a French fleet on the coaſt of Georgia, retarded that event till the 18th of December. This delay, together

together with the ſlow method of reducing Charleſton by regular approaches, and the defence made by general Lincoln—all concurred to waſte away the ſeaſon which had been allotted for a vigorous winter campaign. It was originally intended that the whole of the forces employed againſt Charleſton ſhould proceed, after the reduction of that capital, to the conqueſt of the adjacent ſtates. It was preſumed that the militia, by the ſurrender of their ſtrongeſt ſouthern poſt, and capture of the whole continental line, from Virginia to Georgia, would be intimidated from oppoſing a well-appointed and numerous royal army. The moſt extenſive conqueſts in the ſouthern ſtates were confidently expected before a northern campaign for 1780 could be opened. As the arrival of one French fleet retarded the Britiſh ſchemes near three months in the latter end of 1779, ſo the expectation of another in the ſpring of the year 1780 made a diviſion of their ſouthern force indiſpenſibly neceſſary. Intelligence was received by ſir Henry Clinton, about the time of the ſurrender of Charleſton, that a large number of land-forces, and a French fleet, conſiſting of ſeven ſail of the line, and five frigates, commanded by M. De Ternay, was to have ſailed from France ſo early in the year that its arrival on the American coaſt might be ſoon expected. This induced the commander in chief of the royal army to re-embark for New-York early in June, with the greateſt part of his army. Though the French

fleets gained at this time no direct advantages for their American allies, yet they completely deranged the plan of Britiſh operations.

On the departure of ſir Henry Clinton from Charleſton, lord Cornwallis was appointed commander in chief in the ſouthern department, with about four thouſand men. This force, though far ſhort of what was originally intended for ſouthern operations, was deemed fully ſufficient for the purpoſe of extending the Britiſh conqueſts.

The object hitherto purſued by the Britiſh commanders, with regard to the inhabitants of South-Carolina, was to induce them to remain peaceably at their homes. To this end they accepted of their ſubmiſſion on very eaſy terms. All, with a few exceptions, who applied obtained either paroles as priſoners, or protections as Britiſh ſubjects. They who preferred the latter were required to ſubſcribe a declaration of their allegiance to the King of Great-Britain; but in the hurry of buſineſs this was frequently omitted, and the privileges of Britiſh ſubjects were freely beſtowed on ſome without any engagements.

The general ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants was followed by an unuſual calm. The Britiſh believed that the ſtate of South-Carolina was thoroughly conquered; but they ſoon found that the diſguiſe which fear had impoſed ſubſiſted no longer

longer than the preſent danger. Their experience in America had not yet taught them enough of human nature to diſtinguiſh a forced ſubmiſſion, in a temporary panick, from a cordial return to their former allegiance. Subſequent events proved, that a country is unſubdued as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hoſtile ſpirit.

ALL military oppoſition being ſuſpended, the royal commanders, ſuppoſing their work in South-Carolina to be completely finiſhed, began to extend their views to the adjacent ſtates. To facilitate their future operations they conceived a ſcheme of obtaining ſubſtantial ſervice from their new ſubjects. In the proſecution of this buſineſs their policy ſoon loſt what arms had gained. While ſome of the inhabitants were felicitating themſelves in having obtained a reſpite from the calamities of war, they were no leſs aſtoniſhed than confounded at a proclamation by which they were called upon to take arms in ſupport of royal government. All paroles given to priſoners, not taken by capitulation, and who were not in confinement at the ſurrender of Charleſton, were declared on the third of June 1780, by the commander in chief of the royal army, 'to be null 'and void after the twentieth of the ſame month, 'and the holders of them were called upon to 'reſume the character of Britiſh ſubjects, and to 'take an active part in forwarding military ope-'rations, or to be conſidered and treated as rebels

'againſt

'againſt his majeſty's government.'[n] This extraordinary ſtep was taken without any pretence of violation of parole on the part of the priſoners. With this proclamation, and the enrolment of the militia, commenced the declenſion of Britiſh authority. Many had applied for paroles and protection, from the fond expectation, that they ſhould be indulged with a reſidence on their eſtates, and be at full liberty to proſecute their private buſineſs. Numbers who, from motives of fear or convenience, had ſubmitted, ſtill retained an affection for their American brethren in the other ſtates, and ſhuddered at the thought of taking arms againſt them. Among ſuch it was generally ſaid, 'if we muſt fight, let it be 'on the ſide of America, our friends and coun-'trymen.' A great number, conſidering themſelves releaſed from their parole by the proclamation, conceived that they had a right to arm againſt the Britiſh; and were induced ſo to do from the royal menace, that they who did not enrol themſelves as Britiſh ſubjects, muſt expect to be treated as enemies. A much greater number found it convenient to exchange their paroles for protection. To ſacrifice all, and leave the country, required a degree of fortitude that is the lot of very few. To take protection, and to enrol themſelves as militia under the royal ſtandard, were events wholly unexpected when they ſubmitted as priſoners of war. They conceived themſelves reduced to a very hard alternative,

[n] See note XIII.

native, and would often contraſt the conduct of the Britiſh commanders with the former policy of the ſtate, which gave every man his free choice of joining the Americans or of adhering to the royal cauſe, with the liberty of removing his family and property. They ſubmitted, but their ſubſequent conduct made it probable that this was done, in many caſes, with a ſecret reſervation of breaking the compulſory tie when a proper opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf. Had this ſevere alternative never been offered, and had the people been indulged in the quiet poſſeſſion of their property and their domeſtick eaſe, it would have been extremely difficult for Congreſs to have made adequate exertions for reſcuing the ſtate out of the hands of the Britiſh. But, from a concurrence of cauſes about this time, there was formed a ſtrong party, diſpoſed to do and ſuffer much more for the expulſion of their new maſters, than they could be perſuaded to do ſix months before, to prevent the country from falling into their hands.

The ſituation of the inhabitants of the town was different from that of the country. As they had a right, by the capitulation, to remain at their homes on parole, they were excepted from the alternative offered by the proclamation of the third of June; other methods were therefore uſed to compel them to become Britiſh ſubjects. Immediately after the ſurrender of Charleſton a few perſons, attached to the Britiſh government, prepared

prepared an addreſs to the general and admiral, congratulating them on their conqueſt. ° This was ſigned by two hundred and ten of the inhabitants, the greater part of whom had been in arms againſt the Britiſh during the ſiege, and among whom were a few who had been leaders in the popular government. In anſwer to their addreſs they were promiſed the privileges and protection of Britiſh ſubjects, on ſubſcribing a teſt of their allegiance, and of their willingneſs to ſupport the royal cauſe. Theſe addreſſers, who thus decidedly took part with the Britiſh, immediately made an invidious diſtinction between ſubjects and priſoners, and became the inſtigators of every ſeverity againſt thoſe who choſe to remain on parole. As they had revolted from the cauſe of America, that they might be kept in countenance, they laboured hard to draw others into the ſame predicament. To effect this they would often complain to the Britiſh rulers, 'that none had proper encouragement to return 'to their allegiance, while priſoners were ſuffered 'to remain with their families, follow their oc-'cupations, and enjoy privileges which, in their 'opinion, ſhould be monopolized by the friends 'of royal government.' This example of exchanging paroles for protection, was ſoon followed by many of their fellow-citizens. Thoſe of them, who owned eſtates in the country, had no ſecurity by capitulation for any property out of the lines, unleſs they became ſubjects. This was

° See note XIV.

was a ſtrong inducement to perſons ſo circumſtanced to join their conquerors. To oblige them univerſally to return to their allegiance, there was a ſucceſſion of proclamations, each abridging the privileges of priſoners. Subjects were allowed to ſue for their debts before the Britiſh board of police, but priſoners were denied all benefit of that court. Though they were liable to ſuits, they had no ſecurity for the payment of their debts but the honour of their debtors. The paroles granted to priſoners, after the ſurrender of the town, were much more limited than might have been expected. The citizens of the town were reſtrained from going out of the lines, or on the water, without ſpecial permiſſion. This, when applied for, was ſometimes wantonly refuſed, and on other occaſions might be obtained for money. Ineffectual attempts were made to obtain more generous limits, but no extenſion was granted, and they who ſeemed averſe from ſigning the offered paroles, were informed that, in caſe of an abſolute refuſal, they muſt expect cloſe confinement. Theſe ſhackles ſat very uneaſy on free citizens who had heretofore been accuſtomed to the fulleſt enjoyment of perſonal liberty; but no relaxation could be obtained on any other condition than that of profeſſing a return to their allegiance. The conquerors, in the moſt perfect confidence of keeping the province, and of extending their conqueſts, valued themſelves much upon their generoſity in being willing to receive as Britiſh

ſubjects the citizens whom they viewed in the light of vanquiſhed rebels. Under the influence of this opinion they laughed at the folly, and reſented the ingratitude and impudence of thoſe who choſe to remain in the character of priſoners. Such perſons met with every diſcouragement, and at the ſame time the door of re-admiſſion to the privileges of ſubjects was thrown wide open. This made ſome martyrs, but more hypocrites. A numerous claſs of people were reduced to the alternative of ſtarving or ſuing for protection. Thoſe inhabitants of Charleſton, who were of the Hebrew nation, and others who were ſhopkeepers, were, while priſoners, encouraged to make purchaſes from the Britiſh merchants who came with the conquering army, and, after they had contracted large debts of this kind, were precluded by proclamation from ſelling the goods they had purchaſed, unleſs they aſſumed the name and character of Britiſh ſubjects.[p] Mechanicks and others were allowed, for ſome months after the ſurrender, to follow their reſpective occupations, but as they could not compel payment for their ſervices, repeated loſſes ſoon convinced them of the preſent convenience of accepting Britiſh protection. Great numbers in all communities are wholly indifferent what form of government they live under. They can always turn with the times, and ſubmit with facility to the preſent ruling power whatſoever it may be. The low ſtate of American affairs in the

[p] See note xv.

the ſummer of 1780, induced a belief among many of the inhabitants, that Congreſs, from neceſſity, had abandoned the idea of contending for the ſouthern ſtates. The reſolutions of that body diſavowing this imputation, were carefully concealed from the priſoners.[q] Many believing that South-Carolina would finally remain a Britiſh province, and being determined to ſave their eſtates under every form of government, concluded that the ſooner they ſubmitted the leſs they would loſe. The negroes, and other property of individuals, had been ſeized by the Britiſh during the ſiege. Priſoners on parole had no chance of repoſſeſſing themſelves of any part of this plunder, though ſubjects were allowed to put in their claim, and were ſometimes ſucceſsful. A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the ſtate, rejoiced in the revolution, and ſincerely returned to their allegiance, but their number was inconſiderable in compariſon with the multitude who were obliged by neceſſity, or induced by convenience, to accept of Britiſh protection.

The inhabitants of the country, for the moſt part, lay more at the unconditional mercy of the conquerors than the citizens of the capital. Thoſe who refuſed to give up their paroles, and did not flee out of the country, were generally removed from their families, and confined to ſome of the iſlands on the ſea-coaſt, while their property be-

[q] See note XVI.

came the ſpoil and plunder of a rapacious army. In this trying ſituation, the various ruling paſſions of individuals appeared without diſguiſe. Some men of the largeſt fortunes, and who had been promoted to exalted ſtations, both civil and military, relinquiſhed the ſervice of the ſtate for preſent eaſe and convenience. A few of this character, who were entirely out of the way of perſonal danger, and in the full enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, voluntarily returned, and bowed their necks to the conquerors. In direct contradiction to the whole tenor of their paſt conduct, they attempted to apologize for their inconſiſtency, by declaring that they had never aimed at independence, and were always averſe from an alliance with France. Many whoſe eſtates were deeply in debt at the commencement of the war, had extricated themſelves by payments made in the depreciated paper-bills of credit. Some of this claſs reaſoned with themſelves, that, having got clear of their private debts at a very eaſy rate, if they could now break with Congreſs, and ſupport the Britiſh in the poſſeſſion of the province, they ſhould rid themſelves of the heavy taxes that muſt accrue in conſequence of the American war. The miſchievous effects of negro-ſlavery were, at this time, abundantly apparent. Several who had lived in eaſe and affluence from the produce of their lands, cultivated by the labour of ſlaves, had not fortitude enough to dare to be poor. Sentiments of honour and love of their country, made them wiſh to preſerve

a conſiſtency of conduct, by refuſing ſubmiſſion to Britiſh government, but the impoſſibility of ſupporting themſelves by their own exertions, counteracted every generous reſolution. The conflict of contrary paſſions, and the diſtreſs of the times, drove ſeveral to the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, which proved the ſource of many diſeaſes, and very often deſtroyed life.

THOUGH numbers broke through the ſolemn ties by which they had voluntarily bound themſelves to ſupport the cauſe of America, illuſtrious ſacrifices were made at the ſhrine of liberty; ſeveral ſubmitted to a diſtreſſing exile, or a more intolerable confinement. The proprietors of ſome of the beſt eſtates in South-Carolina, ſuffered them to remain in the power and poſſeſſion of the conquerors, rather than ſtain their honour by deſerting their country. The rich ſtaked their fortunes; but in the humble walks of obſcurity were found ſeveral of the middling and poorer claſs of citizens who may be truly ſaid to have ſtaked their lives on the cauſe of America, for they renounced the comforts ſubſervient to health in warm climates, and contented themſelves with a ſcanty portion of the plaineſt neceſſaries of life, in preference to joining the enemies of independence. In this criſis of danger to the liberties of America, the ladies of South-Carolina conducted themſelves with more than Spartan magnanimity. They gloried in the appellation of rebel ladies; and, though they withſtood repeated

ſolicitations

ſolicitations to grace publick entertainments with their preſence, yet they crowded on board priſon-ſhips, and other places of confinement, to ſolace their ſuffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themſelves at concerts and aſſemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair ſex to aſſociate with them; but no ſooner was an American officer introduced as a priſoner, than his company was ſought for, and his perſon treated with every poſſible mark of attention and reſpect. On other occaſions the ladies in a great meaſure retired from the publick eye, wept over the diſtreſſes of their country, and gave every proof of the warmeſt attachment to its ſuffering cauſe. In the height of the Britiſh conqueſts, when poverty and ruin ſeemed the unavoidable portion of every adherent to the independence of America, the ladies in general diſcovered more firmneſs than the men. Many of them, like guardian Angels, preſerved their huſbands from falling in the hour of temptation, when intereſt and convenience had almoſt gotten the better of honour and patriotiſm. Among the numbers who were baniſhed from their families, and whoſe property was ſeized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their ſons, huſbands and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perſeverance; and repeatedly entreating them never to ſuffer family-attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progreſs of the war, they were

alſo

alſo comprehended under a general ſentence of baniſhment, with equal reſolution they parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home—followed their huſbands into priſon-ſhips and diſtant lands, where, though they had long been in the habit of giving, they were reduced to the neceſſity of receiving charity. They renounced the preſent gratifications of wealth, and the future proſpects of fortunes for their growing offspring—adopted every ſcheme of economy, and, though born in affluence, and habituated to attendance, betook themſelves to hard labour.

WHILST the conquerors were indefatigable in their endeavours to ſtrengthen the party for royal government, by the addition of new ſubjects, the Americans were not inattentive to their intereſts. During the ſiege of Charleſton, general Lincoln, in the moſt preſſing manner, requeſted governor Rutledge, with the whole of his council, to go out of town, on the idea that the civil authority of the ſtate would be exerted to much greater advantage in the country than in the beſieged metropolis; that an executive authority might be preſerved, though the capital ſhould fall; and at the ſame time, that the citizens might not conceive themſelves deſerted, in the day of danger, it was agreed that governor Rutledge, with three of the council, ſhould leave Charleſton, and that lieutenant-governor Gadſden, with the other five of that body, ſhould remain

remain within the lines. In conſequence of this determination, on the twelfth of April 1780, the governor left Charleſton, accompanied by the honourable John-Lewis Gervais, Charles Pinckney and Daniel Huger, eſquires. Every exertion was made to embody the country militia, and to bring them forward for the relief of the beſieged capital. Failing in this, the next object of the governor was to make a ſtand to the north of the Santee, in which part of the ſtate were a few continentals, and North-Carolina militia. The reduction of the town, with the army encloſed, occaſioned ſuch a general panick among the militia, that they could not be perſuaded to ſecond his views. Governor Rutledge in a little time retired to the northward, where he was more ſucceſsful in his negotiations with North-Carolina, Virginia, and Congreſs. Soon after, he returned to South-Carolina, and gave vigour, union and force to the inhabitants in their exertions againſt Britiſh government.

DURING the ſiege expreſſes were ſent by general Lincoln to the Congreſs, and the ſtates of North-Carolina and Virginia, repreſenting the unpromiſing appearance of affairs in South-Carolina. In conſequence of theſe ſeveral requiſitions, Congreſs determined that a conſiderable detachment from their main army ſhould be immediately marched to the ſouthward. The ſtate of North-Carolina alſo ordered a large body of their militia to take the field, and to be relieved every three

three months. Theſe ſtamina of a ſecond ſouthern army were originally deſigned to compel the Britiſh to raiſe the ſiege of Charleſton, but, being too late for that buſineſs, they became a reſpectable check to the extenſion of their conqueſts. The near approach of colonel Tarleton to Mecklenburgh county, where he defeated colonel Buford, induced general Rutherford to take the field for the defence of that part of the country. In three days he collected fifteen hundred militia at Charlotte town; but as lieutenant-colonel Tarleton immediately retreated, they returned to their homes. About ten days after, lord Rawdon fixed a poſt at the Waxhaws. General Rutherford a ſecond time collected eight hundred of his militia brigade at Charlotte, and ſoon after his lordſhip retreated. The brave men, who ſo willingly turned out for the defence of their country, at this time of difficulty, were reduced to the greateſt ſtraits in providing themſelves with ſuitable armour. They employed the ſithe and ſickle makers to convert iron and ſteel, where-ever they could be found, into inſtruments of defence. They had no lead but the ſmall private ſtock accidentally in the poſſeſſion of hunters, and would have been equally deſtitute of powder, if the remote magazines of South-Carolina had not been removed and lodged in their neighbourhood. The royaliſts in both Carolinas, confident of Britiſh protection, now began to throw off the maſk, and were greatly increaſed by acceſſions from the multitude,

multitude, who always ſide with the ſtrongeſt. A large body of this kind, on the twenty-ſecond of June 1780, embodied in North-Carolina, at Ramſour's, under the command of col. Moore. The greateſt part of theſe had taken the oath of allegiance to the ſtate of North-Carolina, and many of them had done militia duty in the American ſervice; but they were induced, on this occaſion, by the perſuaſion of their leaders, after having taken arms in ſupport of royal government, to attempt a junction with the Britiſh troops at ſome of their out-poſts. This premature inſurrection, in oppoſition to the advice of lord Cornwallis, who had recommended to his friends to remain inactive till he had advanced into their ſettlements, ſubjected the royaliſts to immediate diſperſion. Their leaders, as well in North-Carolina as in the ſouth ſtate, were for the moſt part perſons of inferior characters, deſtitute of military or political talents, and wholly deficient in that ſagacity which ſelects the fitteſt ſeaſons for accompliſhing events.

General Rutherford immediately marched againſt theſe inſurgents, but was ſo ſhort of lead that he could arm only three hundred men. Colonel Lock advanced with this armed detachment twenty-five miles ahead to obſerve the motions of the royaliſts, whilſt the main body halted behind in expectation of a ſupply of ammunition from the mines of Virginia. Colonel Lock, though ſo greatly inferior in force, was

ſoon

ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of attacking or of being attacked. He choſe the former. This was executed with great ſpirit and judgment. Captain Falls, with a party of horſe, ruſhed into the middle of the inſurgents, and threw them into confuſion. In this ſkirmiſh twenty-two of the whig militia were killed or wounded. Among the former were ſix of their officers who had been ſingled out by rifle-men among the royaliſts. The brave captain Falls was one of the ſlain. Colonel Moore made a propoſition to colonel Lock to deſiſt from all hoſtilities for an hour, which, being agreed to by the latter, the former in that time ran off with his whole party. This inſurrection was ſcarcely quelled, when general Rutherford received information that colonel Brian, of Rowan county, in North-Carolina, had put himſelf at the head of a body of tories, in order to join the Britiſh. He inſtantly marched to that part of the ſtate, but failed in his object. Colonel Brian marched down the eaſt ſide of the Yadkin, and effected a junction with the royal army at Camden.

As the Britiſh advanced to the upper country of South-Carolina, a conſiderable number of the determined friends of independence retreated before them, and took refuge in North-Carolina. In this claſs was colonel Sumpter, a gentleman who had formerly commanded one of the continental regiments, and who was known to poſſeſs a great ſhare of bravery and other military talents.

In a very little time after he had forſaken his home, a detachment of the Britiſh turned his wife and family out of doors, burned the houſe, and every thing that was in it. A party of theſe exiles from South-Carolina, who had convened in North-Carolina, made choice of colonel Sumpter to be their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen he ſoon returned to his own ſtate, and took the field againſt the victorious Britiſh. He made this gallant effort at a time when the inhabitants had generally abandoned the idea of ſupporting their own independence, and when he had every difficulty to encounter. The ſtate was no longer in a condition to pay, clothe or feed the troops, who had enrolled themſelves under his command. His followers were, in a great meaſure, unfurniſhed with arms and ammunition, and they had no magazines from which they might draw a ſupply. The iron tools, on the neighbouring farms, was worked up for their uſe by common blackſmiths into rude weapons of war. They ſupplied themſelves in part with bullets by melting the pewter with which they were furniſhed by private houſekeepers. They ſometimes came to battle when they had not three rounds a man, and ſome were obliged to keep at a diſtance, till, by the fall of others, they were ſupplied with arms. When they proved victorious they were obliged to rifle the dead and wounded of their arms and ammunition to equip them for their next engagement. At the head of theſe volunteers colonel Sumpter penetrated

netrated into South-Carolina, and re-commenced a military oppoſition to the Britiſh, after it had been ſuſpended for about ſix weeks. This unlooked-for impediment to the extenſion of Britiſh conqueſts rouſed all the paſſions which diſappointed ambition can inſpire. The late conquerors, having in their official deſpatches, aſſerted 'that the inhabitants from every quarter had 'repaired to the detachments of the royal army, 'and to the garriſon of Charleſton, to declare 'their allegiance to the King, and to offer their 'ſervices in arms in ſupport of his government— 'that in many inſtances they had brought in pri'ſoners, their former oppreſſors or leaders—and 'that there were few men in South-Carolina that 'were not either their priſoners or in arms with 'them;' and now, finding armed parties ſuddenly appearing in favour of independence, were overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment, and filled with indignation. Their ſucceſſes had flattered them with hopes of diſtinguiſhed rank among the conquerors of America; but theſe unexpected hoſtilities made them fear, that their names would be enrolled among thoſe who, by pompous details of Britiſh victories, and exaggerated pictures of American ſufferings, had deceived the people of England into a continued ſupport of an expenſive and ruinous war. Forgetting their experience in the northern ſtates, they had believed the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants to be ſincere; making no allowance for that propenſity in human nature which leads mankind, when in the power

of

of others, to frame their intelligence with more attention to what is agreeable than to what is true, the Britiſh for ſome time conceived that they had little to fear on the ſouth ſide of Virginia. When experience convinced them of the fallacy of their hopes, they were tranſported with indignation againſt the inhabitants. Without taking any ſhare of the blame to themſelves for their policy in conſtraining men to an involuntary ſubmiſſion, they charged them with ſtudied duplicity and treachery. Lenient meaſures were laid aſide for thoſe which were dictated by the ſpirit of revenge. Nor were opportunities long wanting for the indulgence of this malignant paſſion. The private ſoldiers of the royal army, after deſerting, had concealed themſelves among the inhabitants. Lord Rawdon, whoſe temper was ſoured by diſappointment, and whoſe breaſt was agitated with rage againſt the new ſubjects, as well for their unmeaning ſubmiſſions, as for their conniving at a practice ſo injurious to the royal intereſt, on the firſt of July 1780 addreſſed the following letter to H. Rugely, major of Britiſh militia, near their head-quarters at Camden:

'SIR,

'So many deſerters from this army have paſſed 'with impunity through the diſtricts which are 'under your direction, that I muſt neceſſarily ſu- 'ſpect the inhabitants to have connived at, if not 'facilitated their eſcape. If attachment to their

'ſovereign

'ſovereign will not move the country-people to 'check a crime ſo detrimental to his ſervice, it 'muſt be my care to urge them to their duty as 'good ſubjects by uſing invariable ſeverity to-'wards every one who ſhall ſhew ſo criminal a 'neglect of the publick intereſt. I am therefore, 'ſir, to requeſt of you that you ſignify to all 'within the limits of your command my firm 'determination in this caſe. If any perſon ſhall 'meet a ſoldier ſtraggling without a written paſs 'beyond the picquets, and ſhall not do his ut-'moſt to ſecure him, or ſhall not ſpread an alarm 'for that purpoſe, or if any perſon ſhall give 'ſhelter to ſoldiers ſtraggling as above-mentioned, 'or ſhall ſerve them as a guide, or ſhall furniſh 'them with paſſes or any other aſſiſtance, the 'perſons ſo offending may aſſure themſelves of 'rigorous puniſhment either by whipping, im-'priſonment, or by being ſent to ſerve his majeſty 'in the Weſt-Indies, according as I ſhall think 'the degree of criminality may require. I have 'ordered that every ſoldier who paſſes the pic-'quets ſhall ſubmit himſelf to be examined by 'any of the militia who have any ſuſpicion of 'him: if a ſoldier therefore attempts to eſcape, 'when ordered by a militiaman to ſtop, he is 'immediately to be fired upon as a deſerter—Sin-'gle men of the light-horſe need not be exa-'mined, as they may often be ſent alone upon 'expreſſes—nor is any party of infantry with a 'non-commiſſioned officer at the head of it to 'be ſtopped.

'I

'I WILL give the inhabitants ten guineas for 'the head of any deſerter belonging to the vo- 'lunteers of Ireland, and five guineas only if 'they bring him in alive. They ſhall likewiſe 'be rewarded, though not to that amount, for 'ſuch deſerters as they may procure belonging 'to any other regiment.

'I AM confident that you will encourage the 'country-people to be more active in this reſpect.

'And am, ſir,

'with much eſteem,

'your very humble ſervant,

'(ſigned) RAWDON.'

IN addition to this exertion of military autho- rity lord Rawdon, on the firſt rumour of an advancing American army, called on the inhabi- tants in and near Camden to take up arms againſt their approaching countrymen, and confined in the common gaol thoſe who refuſed. In the midſt of ſummer upwards of one hundred and ſixty perſons were ſhut up in one priſon, and twenty or thirty of them, though citizens of the moſt reſpectable characters, were loaded with irons. Mr. James Bradley, mr. Strother, colo- nel Few, mr. Kerſhaw, captain Boykin, colonel Alexander, mr. Irvin, colonel Winn, colonel Hunter and captain John Cheſnut, were in the number of thoſe who were ſubjected to theſe in- dignities. The laſt of theſe gentlemen, though taken in Charleſton, and entitled to the ſecurity

of

of his perſon and property by a ſolemn capitulation, was deprived of a quantity of indigo equal in value to five thouſand dollars; and was alſo chained to the floor for a conſiderable time on a ſuſpicion of his having violated his parole by correſponding with the Americans, though the charge was ſupported by no better evidence than the information of one of his ſlaves.

THE friends of independence having once more taken the field in South-Carolina, a party of the corps, commanded by colonel Sumpter, conſiſting of one hundred and thirty-three men, on the twelfth of July 1780 engaged at Williams' plantation, in the upper parts of South-Carolina, with a detachment of the Britiſh troops and a large body of tories, commanded by captain Huck. They were poſted in a lane, both ends of which were entered at the ſame time by the Americans. In this unfavourable poſition they were ſpeedily routed and diſperſed. Colonel Ferguſon, of the Britiſh militia, captain Huck, and ſeveral others were killed. This was the firſt advantage gained over the royal forces ſince their landing in the beginning of the year. At the very moment this unexpected attack was made, a number of women were on their knees vainly ſoliciting captain Huck for his mercy in behalf of their families and property. During his command he had diſtreſſed the inhabitants by every ſpecies of inſult and injury. He had alſo ſhocked them with his profanity, having been

been often heard to ſay, 'that GOD ALMIGHTY 'was turned rebel; but that if there were twenty 'GODS on their ſide they ſhould all be conquer-'ed.' In a very particular manner he diſplayed his enmity to the Preſbyterians, by burning the library and dwellinghouſe of their clergyman the rev. mr. Simpſon, and all bibles which contained the Scots tranſlation of the pſalms. Theſe proceedings, no leſs impolitick than impious, inſpired the numerous devout people of that diſtrict with an unuſual animation. A warm love for independence blended itſelf with a religious fervour—and theſe two paſſions reciprocally added ſtrength to each other. The inhabitants of that part of the ſtate generally arranged themſelves under the command of colonel Sumpter, and oppoſed the Britiſh with the enthuſiaſm of men called upon to defend not only their civil liberties but their holy religion. The effects of this ardour were very ſenſibly felt. Colonel Sumpter was ſoon reinforced to the number of ſix hundred men. At the head of this party, on the thirtieth of July 1780, he made a ſpirited, but unſucceſsful attack on the Britiſh poſt at Rocky-Mount. Without delay he marched in queſt of other Britiſh detachments, and in eight days after ſucceſsfully attacked one of their poſts at the Hanging Rock, in which was a conſiderable force of regulars and tories. The prince of Wales's regiment, which defended this place, was nearly annihilated; and a large body of tories, which had advanced from North-Carolina under colonel Brian,

Brian was completely routed and diſperſed. The party commanded by colonel Sumpter was ſo ſhort of ammunition, that when they began this attack no one of them had more than ten bullets. In the latter part of the action the arms and ammunition which were taken from the Britiſh and tories, who fell in the beginning of it, were turned againſt their aſſociates.

It had been for ſome time known that an American army was marching from the northward for the relief of their ſouthern brethren. The panick occaſioned by the fall of Charleſton was daily abating. The whig militia, on the extremities of the ſtate, formed themſelves into ſmall parties under leaders of their own choice, and ſome times attacked detachments of the Britiſh army, but much more frequently thoſe of their own countrymen, who were turning out as a royal militia. Theſe American parties ſeverally acted from the impulſe of their own minds. They ſet themſelves in oppoſition to the Britiſh without the knowledge of each others motions, and without any preconcerted general plan. Colonel Williams, of the diſtrict of Ninety-Six, in particular, was indefatigable in collecting and animating the friends of Congreſs in that ſettlement. With theſe he frequently harraſſed the conquerors. On the eighteenth of Auguſt 1780, he attacked a conſiderable party of Britiſh and tories at Muſgrove's mills, on the Enoree river. In this engagement colonel Innis, of the South-

Carolina royaliſts, was wounded, and the whole of his party obliged to retire.

During the ſiege of Charleſton, fourteen hundred continental troops, conſiſting of the Delaware and Maryland line, commanded by major-general Baron De-Kalb, were by Congreſs ordered to the ſouthward. They marched from head-quarters at Morriſtown, in New-Jerſey, on the ſixteenth of April 1780, embarked at the Head of Elk in May, and landed ſoon after at Peterſburg in Virginia, and from thence proceeded by land through the country towards South-Carolina. Virginia made great and effectual exertions to expedite the movements of this little army, but in North-Carolina little or no preparations were made for ſupporting the troops or tranſporting their baggage. The commiſſaries and quarter-maſters complained that the want of caſh and of credit, were inſuperable obſtacles to the diſcharge of their duty. The American general found it neceſſary to make large detachments for impreſſing proviſions. Their miſapplied violences in many caſes diſtreſſed the inhabitants, and greatly injured the ſervice. The country was thinly inhabited and poorly cultivated. The laſt year's crop was nearly expended, and the preſent one was not ſufficiently ripe. The troops ſubſiſted principally on lean cattle collected in the woods. The officers were ſo diſtreſſed for the want of flour, that they made uſe of hair-powder to thicken their ſoup, but ſoon found a more ſavory ſubſtitute

ſtitute in green corn. Peaches were alſo uſed, and became a ſeaſonable ſupply. The whole army was ſome times ſupplied for twenty-four hours in this way without either meat or flour. The ſufferings and the virtue of the American troops on this occaſion, are ſtated in a letter of Auguſt fourteenth, 1780, from major-general Baron De-Kalb to Chevalier De La Luzerne, the miniſter plenipotentiary from his moſt chriſtian Majeſty to the United States, in the following words: 'You may judge of the virtues of our 'ſmall army from the following fact: we have 'for ſeveral days lived on nothing but peaches, 'and I have not heard a complaint. There has 'been no deſertion.'

A CONSIDERABLE number of the militia of North-Carolina had taken the field, and had agreed to rendezvous at Anſon courthouſe on the twentieth of July, that they might be in readineſs to co-operate with the continental army. On the approach of the Americans major M'Arthur, who commanded on the Peedee, called in his detachments, abandoned his poſt on the Cheraw hill, and marched directly to join the main body of the royal army at Camden. On the day that the Britiſh relinquiſhed this part of the country, the inhabitants, diſtreſſed by their depredations, and diſguſted with their conduct, generally took arms. Lord Nairne, and one hundred and ſix Britiſh invalids, going down the Peedee, were made priſoners by a party of the Americans,

commanded

commanded by major Thomas, who had lately been received as loyal ſubjects. A large boat coming up from George-Town, well ſtored with neceſſaries for major M'Arthur's party, was ſeized for the uſe of the American army. All the new-made Britiſh militia-officers, excepting colonel Mills, were made priſoners by their own men. The retreat of the Britiſh from their out-poſts to Camden, the rapid advances of an American army, and the impolitick conduct of the conquerors towards their new ſubjects, all concurred about this time to produce a general revolt in favour of Congreſs. For ſome time paſt the people were daily growing more and more diſſatisfied with the Britiſh. Tired of war, they had ſubmitted to their government, with the flattering expectation of bettering their condition; but they ſoon found that they had fled from the ſcorching heat of the ſun into the conſuming blaze of a furnace. The protection they received, as the recompenſe of their ſubmiſſions, was wholly inadequate to the purpoſe of ſecuring their property. When the Britiſh firſt took poſſeſſion of the country, they conſidered themſelves as having a right to ſeize on the property of rebels. Their commiſſaries and quartermaſters took proviſions, and all other things wanted by the army where-ever they were to be found. Though things taken this way were all charged to the Britiſh government, yet very few of the perſons from whom they were taken ever received any ſatisfaction. After the ſtate had generally

ſubmitted,

ſubmitted, the ſame practice was continued. The rapacity of the common men, the indigence and avarice of many of the officers, and the gains of the commiſſaries and quartermaſters, all concurred to forbid any check to this lucrative mode of procuring ſupplies. They found it much more profitable to look on the inhabitants in the light of rebels, whoſe property was forfeited, than as reclaimed ſubjects, who were reinſtated in the protection of government. When they applied in the latter character to claim their rights, and to remonſtrate againſt Britiſh depredations, they much oftener received inſults than redreſs. People who had received this kind of treatment, and who believed that allegiance and protection were reciprocal, ſoon conceived themſelves releaſed from their late engagements, and at full liberty to rejoin the Americans.

THOUGH the inhabitants of Charleſton had not the ſame opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment againſt their conquerors, yet many of the new-made ſubjects and the priſoners were very ſoon diſguſted with their conduct. Every ungenerous conſtruction was put on an ambiguous capitulation, to the diſadvantage of the citizens, and their rights founded thereon, were, in ſeveral inſtances, moſt injuriouſly violated. On the nineteenth day after the ſurrender, a quartermaſter of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's legion, of the name of Tuck, with a party of dragoons of that corps, called on mr. Samuel Wyly, an inoffenſive private

vate militiaman, and, on his acknowledging that he went as a volunteer to the defence of Charleſton, put him to death at his own houſe near Camden, by cutting him in pieces in a moſt barbarous manner. Though Mr. Wyly produced a certified copy of his parole as an evidence of his being entitled to the protection due to a priſoner taken by capitulation, yet it availed him nothing. Tuck and his party ſwore they would not only kill him, but all others who had turned out as volunteers to oppoſe the Britiſh forces. Continental officers were ſtripped of their property, on the pretence that they were ſoldiers, and had no right to claim under the character of citizens. The conquerors deprived the inhabitants of their canoes by an illiberal conſtruction of the article which gave them the ſhipping in the harbour. Many ſlaves, and a great deal of property, though ſecured by the capitulation, were carried off by ſir Henry Clinton's army in June 1780, when they ſailed from Charleſton. Immediately after the ſurrender, five hundred negroes were ordered to be put on board the ſhips for pioneers to the royal forces in New-York. Theſe were taken where-ever they could be found, and no ſatisfaction was made to their owners. The common ſoldiers, from their ſufferings and ſervices during the ſiege, conceived themſelves entitled to a licenſed plunder of the town. That their murmurings might be ſoothed, the officers connived at their reimburſing themſelves for their fatigues and dangers at the expence

pence of the citizens. Almoſt every private houſe had one or more of the officers or privates of the royal army quartered upon them. In providing for their accommodation very little attention was paid to the convenience of families. The inſolence and diſorderly conduct of perſons thus forced upon the citizens, were in many inſtances intolerable to freemen heretofore accuſtomed to be maſters in their own houſes. The greateſt addreſs ſhould have been practiſed towards the inhabitants, if the army meant to ſecond the views of the parent-ſtate, in re-uniting the revolted colonies to her government. To induce a people who had taſted of the ſweets of independence, to return to the condition of ſubjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This more delicate and difficult taſk was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amaſſing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a re-union of the diſſevered members of the empire. The general complexion of the officers ſerving in the royal army againſt America, was very different from what had been uſual in better times. In former wars dignity, honour and generoſity, were invariably annexed to the military character. Though the old officers of the Britiſh regiments in America were for the moſt part gentlemen, and eminently poſſeſſed theſe virtues, yet ſeveral vacancies, both at the commencement and in the progreſs of the American war,

war, had been filled up by a new ſet greatly infe-rior in fortune, education and good breeding. Several new corps had been raiſed in America, in which commiſſions had been promiſed by publick advertiſement to any perſon who would recruit a given number of men. They who poſſeſſed moſt of that low cunning, which is neceſſary to wheedle the vulgar, were of courſe moſt ſucceſs-ful in procuring theſe commiſſions. From an army abounding with ſuch unworthy characters, and ſtationed among a people whom they hated as rebels, and from the plunder of whom they hoped to make fortunes, it was not reaſonable to expect that winning behaviour which was neceſſary to conciliate the affections of the revolt-ed ſtates. The royal officers, inſtead of ſoothing the inhabitants into good humour, by acts of beneficence and generoſity, often aggravated in-tolerable injuries by more intolerable inſults; in-ſtead of increaſing the number of real friends of royal government, they diſguſted the few that they found; inſtead of gaining the affections of the people, their whole conduct tended to alie-nate them: in one word, they did more to re-eſtabliſh the independence of the ſtate than could have been effected by the armies of Congreſs, had the conquerors guided themſelves by maxims of ſound policy. The high-ſpirited citizens of Carolina could not brook theſe oppreſſions and inſults; but moſt ardently wiſhed to rid the coun-try of the inſulting oppreſſors. From motives of this kind, and a prevailing attachment to the

cauſe

cauſe of their country, many broke through all ties to join the advancing American army, and more moſt cordially wiſhed them ſucceſs.

MAJOR-GENERAL Baron De-Kalb commanded the continentals ſent from the northward till the twenty-ſeventh of July, when major-general Gates arrived with the orders of Congreſs to take the ſupreme command. Great were the expectations of the publick from this illuſtrious officer. The cloud that had for ſome time overſhadowed American affairs began to diſperſe. Nothing ſhort of the ſpeedy expulſion of the Britiſh from the ſtate came up to the wiſhes and hopes of the friends of independence. A well-timed proclamation from the American general was very generally approved, and greatly influenced the ſentiments and conduct of the inhabitants.[r] The continental army formed a junction with the North-Carolina militia at the Croſs-Roads, forty-five miles from Camden, on the tenth of Auguſt. The Britiſh, on the approach of general Gates, concentred their whole force at Camden. No interruption of the American army was attempted any where but at Lynch's creek, and even this was abandoned upon their making a circuitous march to the right. The retreat of the Britiſh, and the extreme ſcarcity of proviſions, induced general Gates to continue his march to Rugeley's mills, about thirteen miles from Camden, in which poſition he had the proſpect of more com-

[r] See note XVII.

fortable ſupplies from the well-cultivated ſettlement of Waxhaws. While the American army advanced towards Camden, colonel Sumpter was to the weſtward of the Wateree, and daily augmenting his corps from the revolting inhabitants who enrolled themſelves under his ſtandard. On receiving intelligence that an eſcort of clothing, ammunition, and other ſtores for the garriſon at Camden, was on the road from Charleſton, and that the whole muſt paſs the Wateree ferry under cover of a ſmall redoubt which the Britiſh occupied on the ſouth ſide of the river, he formed a ſucceſsful plan for reducing the redoubt, and capturing the convoy. From his poſition on the ſouth ſide of the Wateree, the farther hope was indulged of his intercepting the Britiſh, whoſe defeat or retreat was confidently expected on their way from Camden to Charleſton. On the fifteenth general Stevens, with a brigade of Virginia militia, joined general Gates. The whole of the American army now amounted to three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-three, of which about nine hundred were continental infantry, and ſeventy cavalry.

THE arrival of this force being quite unexpected, lord Cornwallis, buſily employed in forming regulations for the interior police of the country, was diſtant from the ſcene of action. No ſooner was he informed of the approach of general Gates, than he prepared to join his army at Camden. He arrived, and ſuperſeded lord

Rawdon

Rawdon in command on the fourteenth. His inferior force, conſiſting of about ſeventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, would have juſtified a retreat; but, conſidering that no probable event of an action could be more injurious to the royal intereſt than that meaſure, he choſe to ſtake his fortune in the field in a conteſt with the conqueror of Burgoyne. On the night of the fifteenth he marched out with his whole force to attack the American army; and at the ſame hour general Gates put his army in motion, with a determination to take an eligible poſition between Sander's creek and Green-Swamp, about eight miles from Camden. The advanced parties of both armies met about midnight, and a firing commenced. In the ſkirmiſh of the night colonel Porterfield, a very gallant officer of the ſtate of Virginia, received a mortal wound. After ſome time both parties retreated to their main bodies, and the whole lay on their arms. In the morning a ſevere and general engagement took place. The American army was formed in the following manner: the ſecond Maryland brigade, commanded by brigadier-general Giſt, on the right of the line, flanked by a moraſs; the North-Carolina militia, commanded by major-general Caſwell, in the centre; and the Virginia militia, commanded by brigadier-general Stevens, on the left, flanked by the North-Carolina militia light-infantry and a moraſs. The artillery was poſted in the interſtices of brigades, and on the moſt advantageous grounds. Major-general

general Baron De-Kalb commanded on the right of the line, and brigadier-general Smallwood commanded the firſt Maryland brigade, which was poſted as a corps-de-reſerve two or three hundred yards in the rear. In this poſition the troops remained till dawn of day. As ſoon as the Britiſh appeared about two hundred yards in front of the North-Carolina troops, the artillery was ordered to fire, and brigadier-general Stevens to attack the column which was diſplayed to the right. That gallant officer advanced with his brigade of militia in excellent order within fifty paces of the enemy, who were alſo advancing, and then called out to his men, 'my brave fel-'lows, you have bayonets as well as they, we'll 'charge them.' At that moment the Britiſh infantry charged with a cheer, and the Virginians, throwing down their arms, retreated with the utmoſt precipitation. The militia of North-Carolina followed the unworthy example, except a few of general Gregory's brigade, who pauſed a very little longer. A part of colonel Dixon's regiment fired two or three rounds, but the greater part of the whole militia fled without firing a ſingle ſhot. This precipitate flight was perhaps occaſioned by the following cauſes: the troops being badly ſupplied, had for ſome time ſubſiſted on fruit ſcarcely ripe, without any regular rations of fleſh, flour or ſpirituous liquors. The unexpected meeting of the enemy, their lying for ſome hours on their arms, with the apprehenſion of immediate danger, and the horrors of

the

the night, operating on militia who had never been in action, and whoſe ſtrength and ſpirits were depreſſed by their preceding low regimen, occaſioned ſo general a panick among the raw troops, that they could not ſtand before bayonets. The whole left wing and centre being gone, the continentals who formed the right wing, and the corps of reſerve, engaged about the ſame time, and gave the Britiſh an unexpected check. The ſecond brigade, conſiſting of Maryland and Delaware troops, gained ground, and had taken no leſs than fifty priſoners. The firſt brigade being conſiderably out-flanked, were obliged to retire; but they rallied again, and with great ſpirit renewed the fight. This expedient was repeated two or three times. The Britiſh directed their whole force againſt theſe two devoted corps, and a tremendous fire of muſketry was continued on both ſides, with great perſeverance and obſtinacy. At length lord Cornwallis, obſerving that there was no cavalry oppoſed to him, poured in his dragoons and ended the conteſt. Never did men behave better than the continentals in the whole of this action; [f] but all attempts to rally the militia were ineffectual. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's legion charged them as they broke, and purſued them as they were fleeing. Without having it in their power to defend themſelves, they fell in great numbers under the legionary ſabres.

MAJOR-

[f] See note XVIII.

MAJOR-GENERAL Baron De-Kalb, an illuſtrious German, in the ſervice of France, who had generouſly engaged in the ſupport of the American independence, and who exerted himſelf with great bravery to prevent the defeat of the day, received eleven wounds, of which, though he received the moſt particular aſſiſtance from the Britiſh, he in a ſhort time expired. Congreſs, ſenſible of his exalted merit, ordered a monument to be erected in Annapolis to his memory.[t] Lieutenant-colonel Du-Buyſſon, aid-de-camp to Baron De-Kalb, embraced his wounded general, announced his rank and nation to the ſurrounding foe, and begged that they would ſpare his life. While he generouſly expoſed himſelf to ſave his friend, he received ſundry dangerous wounds, and was taken priſoner. Brigadier-general Rutherford, a valuable officer, of the moſt extenſive influence over the North-Carolina militia, ſurrendered to a party of the Britiſh legion, one of whom, after his ſubmiſſion, cut him in ſeveral places. Of the South-Carolina line, that brave and diſtinguiſhed officer, major Thomas Pinckney, acting as aid-de-camp to major-general Gates, had his leg ſhattered by a muſket-ball, and fell into the hands of the conquerors.

THE Americans loſt eight field-pieces, the whole of their artillery, upwards of two hundred waggons, and the greateſt part of their baggage. The loſs of the Britiſh, in killed and wounded, was

[t] See note XIX.

was about three hundred. The royal army fought with great bravery; but their ſucceſs was in a great meaſure owing to the precipitate flight of the militia, and the ſuperiority of their cavalry.

The militia compoſed ſo great a part of the American army, that general Gates, when he ſaw them leave the field, loſt all hopes of victory, and retired in order to rally a ſufficient number to cover the retreat of the continentals, but the further the militia fled, the more they were diſperſed. Finding nothing could be done, he continued his retreat into North-Carolina. On his way he was ſoon overtaken by an officer from colonel Sumpter, who reported that the colonel had fully ſucceeded in his enterprize againſt the Britiſh poſt at the ferry, had captured the garriſon, and intercepted the eſcort with the ſtores; but no advantage could be taken of this event, as the ſucceſsful party of Americans was on the oppoſite ſide of the river. A few of the Virginia militia were halted at Hillſborough, but in a little time their tour of ſervice was out, and all who had not deſerted were diſcharged. The North-Carolina militia went different ways, as their hopes led or their fears drove them. Several of them were intercepted by their countrymen, who, though they had aſſembled under the pretence of joining general Gates, yet, on hearing of his defeat, became active in purſuing the fugitives from his army. Almoſt all the American officers were ſeparated from their commands.

Every

Every corps was broken in action, and diſperſed through the woods. Major Anderſon, of the third Maryland regiment, was the only infantry officer who kept together any number of men. The retreat of the heavy baggage was delayed till the morning of the action, and the greateſt part of it fell into the hands of the Britiſh, or was plundered in the retreat. The purſuit was rapid for more than twenty miles; even at the diſtance of forty miles, teams were cut out of the waggons, and numbers promoted their flight on horſeback. The road by which they fled was ſtrewed with arms and baggage, which in their hurry and trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with the ſick, the wounded and the dead.

On the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of Auguſt brigadiers Smallwood and Giſt, and ſeveral other officers, arrived at Charlotte. At this place alſo had rendezvouſed upwards of one hundred regular infantry of different corps, beſides colonel Armand's cavalry and a ſmall partizan corps of horſe, which took the field, on this occaſion, under the command of major Davie. Some proviſions having been collected there, proved a moſt ſeaſonable refreſhment. The drooping ſpirits of the officers began to revive, and hopes were entertained that a reſpectable force might ſoon again be aſſembled from the country militia, and from the addition of colonel Sumpter's victorious detachment. All theſe proſpects were ſoon obſcured,

obſcured, by intelligence that arrived on the nineteenth of the complete diſperſion of that corps. On hearing of general Gates's defeat, colonel Sumpter began to retreat up the ſouth ſide of the Wateree, with his priſoners and captured ſtores. Lord Cornwallis diſpatched lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of infantry, to purſue him. This was done with ſo much celerity and addreſs, that he was overtaken on the eighteenth at Fiſhing Creek. The Britiſh horſe rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The Americans having been for four days without ſleep or proviſions, were more obedient to the calls of nature than attentive to her firſt law—ſelf-preſervation. Colonel Sumpter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a ſurprize, but his videttes were ſo fatigued, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he got a few of them to make a ſhort ſtand, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. The Britiſh priſoners, about three hundred, were all retaken and conducted to Camden. Colonel Sumpter loſt all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured, or diſperſed.[v]

Every hope of making a ſtand at Charlotte being extinguiſhed, the reſolution was ſoon taken of retreating to Saliſbury. A circumſtantial detail of this would complete the picture of diſtreſs. The officers ſuffered much for want of

[v] See note xx.

horſes to carry off their wounded companions. The citizens of that part of the north ſtate were reduced to great difficulties in removing their families and effects. It was expected that every day would bring intelligence of lord Cornwallis purſuing his fugitive enemies. The inhabitants generally meant to flee before the approaching conquerors. The confuſion that took place among all orders is more eaſily conceived than expreſſed.

THOUGH much cenſure was caſt on general Gates for this unfortunate action, yet, upon a careful examination of every circumſtance, his chief fault ſeems to be his riſking a battle. He choſe the moſt advantageous ground, drew up his men to the beſt advantage,[u] but to make them fight was beyond his power. It muſt be confeſſed the baggage of the army ſhould have been farther in his rear, a place of rendezvous fixed upon in caſe of a defeat, and the action, if poſſible, delayed. Orders for the retreat of the baggage, though given in proper time, were not executed. The other matters, from the great probability of ſucceſs, were not regarded with ſufficient attention.

THE loſs of Charleſton, and the capture of an army within its lines, had reduced American affairs in South-Carolina low; but the complete rout of a ſecond army, procured with great difficulty

[u] See note XXI.

culty for the recovery of the ſtate, ſunk them much lower, and filled the friends of independence with fearful anxiety for the future fate of their country.

THE Britiſh were unuſually elated, and again flattered themſelves, that all oppoſition in South-Carolina was effectually ſubdued. Though their victory was complete, and there was no army to oppoſe them, yet the extreme heat of the weather, and ſicklineſs of the ſeaſon, reſtrained them for ſome time from purſuing their conqueſts. Much was to be done in the interior police of the country. To cruſh that ſpirit of oppoſition to Britiſh government, which diſcovered itſelf on the approach of an American army, engaged the attention of lord Cornwallis.

BY the complete diſperſion of the continental forces, the country was in the power of the conquerors. The expectation of aid from the northward was now leſs probable than immediately after the reduction of Charleſton. Several of the revolted ſubjects had fallen as priſoners into the hands of the Britiſh, and the property of others lay at their mercy. This ſituation of publick affairs pointed out the preſent moment of triumph, as the moſt favourable conjuncture for breaking the ſpirits of thoſe who were attached to the cauſe of independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the forces of Congreſs, a ſeverer policy was henceforward adopted.

UNFORTUNATELY

UNFORTUNATELY for the inhabitants this was taken up on grounds which involved thouſands in diſtreſs, and not a few in the loſs of life. The Britiſh conceived themſelves in poſſeſſion of the rights of ſovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to aſſert their independence were chargeable with the complicated guilt of ingratitude, treaſon and rebellion. Influenced by theſe opinions, and tranſported with indignation againſt the inhabitants, they violated rights which are held ſacred between independent hoſtile nations. In almoſt every diſtrict their progreſs was marked with blood, and with deeds ſo atrocious as reflected diſgrace on their arms. Nor were theſe barbarities perpetrated in a ſudden ſally of rage, or by officers of low rank. Major Wemys, of the ſixty-third regiment of his britannick majeſty's army, deliberately hung mr. Adam Cuſack in Cheraw diſtrict, who had neither taken parole as a priſoner, nor protection as a Britiſh ſubject, though charged with no other crime than refuſing to tranſport ſome Britiſh officers over a ferry, and ſhooting at them acroſs a river. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton has been heard to ſay, 'he 'firmly believed that diſtreſſing the inhabitants 'was the moſt effectual mode of promoting the 'intereſt of his royal maſter.' The immediate authors of executions pleaded no leſs authority than that of earl Cornwallis, for deliberately ſhedding the blood of their fellow-men. In a few days after the defeat of general Gates, his lordſhip

ſhip ſtained his military fame by the following letter, addreſſed to the commandant of the Britiſh garriſon at Ninety-Six:

'I HAVE given orders that all the inhabitants 'of this province, who have ſubſcribed and have 'taken part in this revolt, ſhould be puniſhed 'with the greateſt rigour; and alſo thoſe who will 'not turn out, that they may be impriſoned, and 'their whole property taken from them or de-'ſtroyed. I have likewiſe ordered, that compen-'ſation ſhould be made out of their eſtates to the 'perſons who have been injured or oppreſſed by 'them. I have ordered in the moſt poſitive man-'ner, that every militiaman, who has borne arms 'with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, ſhall 'be immediately hanged. I deſire you will take 'the moſt vigorous meaſures to puniſh the rebels 'in the diſtrict in which you command, and that 'you obey in the ſtricteſt manner the directions 'I have given in this letter relative to the inhabi-'tants of this country.

(Signed) 'CORNWALLIS.'

SIMILAR orders were addreſſed to the commanders of different poſts, and executed with the ſame ſpirit with which they were dictated. At or near Camden, Samuel Andrews, Richard Tucker, John Miles, Joſiah Gayle, Eleazer Smith, with ſome others whoſe names are unknown, were taken out of gaol and hung without

out any ceremony. Some were indulged with a hearing before a court-martial, inſtituted by lord Cornwallis for the trial of priſoners; but the evidences againſt them were not examined on oath, and ſlaves were both permitted and encouraged to accuſe their maſters. Not only at Camden, but in the other parts of South-Carolina, and at Auguſta in Georgia, the ſame bloody tragedies were acted, and ſeveral of the inhabitants fell ſacrifices to this new mode of warfare.

The warm zeal of earl Cornwallis, to annex the ſtates of America to the Britiſh empire, prompted him to meaſures not only derogatory to his character, but inconſiſtent with the claims of humanity. The priſoners on parole had an undoubted right to take arms; for, by proclamation, after the 20th of the preceding June, as has been ſtated, they were realeaſed from every engagement to their conquerors. Of thoſe it may be affirmed, that they were murdered in cold blood. The caſe of thoſe who had taken Britiſh protection is ſomewhat different. His lordſhip could allege, in vindication of his ſeverity to them, an appearance of right, but it was of that too rigid kind which hardens into wrong. Theſe men were under the tie of an oath to ſupport American independence; but had been overcome by the temptation of ſaving their property to make an involuntary ſubmiſſion to the royal conquerors. By a combination of circumſtances they were in ſuch a ſituation that they could not do otherwiſe, without

without riſking the ſupport of their families. Experience ſoon taught them the inefficacy of theſe protections. Theſe men naturally reaſoned thus: 'that, as the contract was firſt violated on 'the part of the conquerors, it could not be ſo 'highly criminal for them to recede from it.' They had alſo ſubmitted on the idea, that they ſhould not be called on to fight againſt the Americans; but finding themſelves compelled to take up arms, and under the neceſſity of violating their engagements either to their countrymen or their conquerors, they choſe to adhere to the former. To treat men thus circumſtanced with the ſanguinary ſeverity of deſerters and traitors might be politick, but the impartial world muſt regret, that the unavoidable horrors of war ſhould be aggravated by ſuch deliberate effuſions of human blood.

After ſuch cruel executions, the deſtruction of property is ſcarcely deſerving of notice. Suffice it therefore only to quote an extract of a letter from governor Rutledge, to the delegates in Congreſs from South-Carolina, dated on the eighth of December 1780, which was in the following words: 'It is really melancholy to ſee 'the deſolate condition of mr. Hill's plantation 'in the New Acquiſition: all his fine iron-works, 'mills, dwellinghouſes, buildings of every kind, 'even his negro-houſes, reduced to aſhes, and 'his wife and children in a little log hut. I was 'ſhocked to ſee the ragged ſhabby condition of

'our

'our brave and virtuous men, who would not 'remain in the power of the enemy, but have 'taken to arms. This, however, is but a faint 'deſcription of the ſufferings of our country; for 'it is beyond a doubt, that the enemy have hanged 'many of our people, who, from fear and the im-'practicability of removing, had given paroles, and 'who, from attachment to our ſide, had joined it. 'Nay, Tarleton has, ſince the action at Black 'Storks, hung one Johnſon, a magiſtrate of re-'ſpectable character. They have alſo burnt a pro-'digious number of houſes, and turned a vaſt 'many women, formerly of affluent and eaſy for-'tunes, with their children almoſt naked, into the 'woods. Tarleton, at the houſe of the widow of 'general Richardſon, exceeded his uſual barbari-'ty; for, having dined in her houſe, he not only 'burned it after plundering it of every thing it con-'tained, but having driven into the barns a num-'ber of cattle, hogs and poultry, he conſumed 'them, together with the barn and the corn in it, 'in one general blaze. This was done becauſe he 'pretended to believe that the poor old general 'was with the rebel army; though, had he open-'ed his grave before the door, he might have ſeen 'the contrary. Colonel Charles-Coteſworth Pinck-'ney's family, are turned out of his houſe. In 'ſhort, the enemy ſeem determined, if they can, 'to break every man's ſpirit; if they cannot, to 'ruin him. Engagements of capitulation and pro-'clamations are no ſecurity againſt their oppreſ-'ſions and cruelties.'

NOTWITHSTANDING

NOTWITHSTANDING the deciſive ſuperiority of the Britiſh arms in the ſummer of 1780, ſeveral of the citizens, reſpectable for their numbers, but more ſo for their weight and influence, continued firm to the cauſe of independence. It was no leſs mortifying to lord Cornwallis than unfriendly to his future ſchemes, that theſe remained within the Britiſh lines in the character of priſoners. Though they were reſtrained by their paroles from doing any thing injurious to the intereſt of his britannick majeſty, yet the ſilent example of men who were revered by their fellow-citizens, had a powerful influence in reſtraining many from exchanging their paroles as priſoners, for the protection and privileges of Britiſh ſubjects. To remove every bias of this ſort, and to enforce a general ſubmiſſion to royal government, lord Cornwallis, ſoon after his victory at Camden, gave orders to ſend out of the province a number of the principal citizens, priſoners on parole in Charleſton. On the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt Chriſtopher Gadſden, eſquire, [w] the lieutenant-governor of the ſtate, moſt of the civil and militia officers, and ſome others of the hearty friends of America, were taken up very early in the morning out of their houſes and beds by armed parties, commanded by major Benſon and captain M'Mahon, and brought to the Exchange, from whence, when collected together, they were removed on board the Sandwich guard-ſhip, and from thence, in a few days, tranſported

[w] See note XXII.

to St. Auguſtine. The manner in which this order was executed was not leſs painful to the feelings of gentlemen, than the order itſelf was injurious to the rights of priſoners, entitled to the benefits of a capitulation. Guards were left at their reſpective houſes. The private papers of ſome of them were examined. Reports were immediately circulated to their diſadvantage, and every circumſtance managed ſo as to induce a general belief, that they were all apprehended for violating their paroles, and for concerting a ſcheme for burning the town, and maſſacreing the loyal ſubjects. On the very firſt day of their confinement they remonſtrated to lieutenant-colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charleſton, aſſerting their innocence, and challenging their accuſers to appear face to face, with their charges againſt them.

'To lieutenant-colonel Niſbet Balfour,
'commandant of Charleſton.

'The MEMORIAL of ſeveral perſons,

'SHEWETH,

'THAT they are citizens of Charleſton; that 'by the articles of capitulation agreed to by ſir 'Henry Clinton, citizens were to be conſidered 'as priſoners of war on parole, and to be ſecur-'ed in their perſons and properties whilſt they 'obſerved their paroles.

'THAT after their ſurrender they gave their
'paroles

'paroles in the following form, viz. acknowledg-
'ing themſelves to be priſoners of war, upon
'parole, to his excellency ſir Henry Clinton, and
'thereby engaged, until exchanged or otherwiſe
'releaſed therefrom, to remain in Charleſton,
'unleſs permitted to go out by the commandant;
'and that they ſhould not in the mean-time do,
'or cauſe any thing to be done, prejudicial to
'the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, or have in-
'tercourſe or hold correſpondence with his ene-
'mies, and to ſurrender themſelves when requir-
'ed; which parole your memorialiſts have en-
'deavoured ſtrictly to obſerve, nor are they con-
'ſcious of the leaſt violation of it.

'NOTWITHSTANDING which, on Sunday the
'twenty-ſeventh inſtant, early in the morning,
'your memorialiſts were ſuddenly arreſted, and
'carried to inſtant confinement into the Ex-
'change; from thence, about two or three hours
'after, they were put into boats, and carried on
'board the Sandwich guard-ſhip, near fort John-
'ſton; and from thence, it is ſaid, are to be
'ſent on board a tranſport.

'YOUR memorialiſts cannot conjecture the rea-
'ſon of ſuch extraordinary ſeverity, nor by what
'means they have forfeited thoſe privileges, ex-
'preſsly ſecured to them by the articles of capi-
'tulation.

'THEY requeſt that full and ſpeedy enquiry
'may

'may be made, and wiſh to know what is the 'nature of their offence, and who are their 'accuſers.

'Charleſton, Monday, Auguſt 27, 1780.'

To this no anſwer was directly obtained; but a meſſage from the commandant, delivered officially by major Benſon, acknowledged that this extraordinary ſtep had been taken 'from mo-'tives of policy.' This relieved the priſoners from the apprehenſion that they were charged with a violation of their paroles; but though they obtained this private ſatisfaction, the royal Gazettes, in all parts of the Britiſh dominions, repreſented them as criminals, apprehended for being concerned in the moſt diſhonourable and miſchievous practices. On the firſt of September following general Moultrie remonſtrated to lieutenant-colonel Balfour againſt this proceeding in a letter expreſſed in the following words:

'SIR,

'ON peruſing the paper, of the twenty-ninth 'of Auguſt, of Robertſon, M'Donald and Came-'ron, publiſhed by authority, to my aſtoniſhment 'I find a paragraph to this effect: "The follow-"ing is a correct liſt of the perſons ſent on "board the Sandwich yeſterday morning," and, 'underneath, the names of a number of the moſt 'reſpectable gentlemen, inhabitants of this ſtate, 'moſt of whoſe characters I am ſo well acquaint-

'ed

'ed with that I cannot believe they would be 'guilty of any breach of their paroles, or any 'article of the capitulation, or done any thing 'to juſtify ſo rigorous a proceeding againſt them. 'I therefore think it my duty, as the ſenior con-'tinental officer, priſoner under the capitulation, 'to demand a releaſe of thoſe gentlemen, par-'ticularly ſuch as are entitled to the benefit of 'that act. This harſh proceeding demands my 'particular attention, and I do therefore, in be-'half of the United States of America, require 'that they be admitted immediately to return to 'their paroles, as their being thus hurried on 'board a priſon-ſhip, and I fear without being 'heard, is a violation of the ninth article of the 'capitulation. If this demand cannot be com-'plied with, I am to requeſt that I may have 'leave to ſend an officer to Congreſs, to repre-'ſent this grievance, that they may interpoſe in 'behalf of theſe gentlemen in the manner they 'ſhall think proper.'

THE only notice taken of this letter of general Moultrie was the following:

'Charleſton, September 4, 1780.

'SIR,

'THE commandant, lieutenant-colonel Bal-'four, will not return any anſwer to a letter 'wrote in ſuch exceptionable and unwarrantable 'terms as that to him from general Moultrie,

'dated

'dated the firſt inſtant, nor will he receive any 'further application from him on the ſubject of 'it.

'By order of the commandant,

'G. Benson, major of brigade.

'To brigadier-general Moultrie.'

The Britiſh endeavoured to juſtify this removal by alleging the right of the victors to remove priſoners whitherſoever they pleaſe, without regarding their convenience. Even where the vanquiſhed are taken at unconditional mercy, this is one of thoſe rigid rights of which a generous conqueror would not, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity, avail himſelf. From officers of liberal minds, the humanity of mordern civilized nations would give the priſoner, though ſurrendered without any terms, room to hope for every indulgence compatible with the intereſt of his conqueror. But when men had given up their arms by a ſolemn capitulation, the caſe was much ſtronger. In the ſurrender of Charleſton, the plain intention and ſpirit of the capitulation, with reſpect to the citizens, was, on the part of the Americans, to give the Britiſh quiet poſſeſſion of the town, fortifications, &c. as an equivalent for their granting the inhabitants their property, and an unmoleſted reſidence at their homes, on the condition of an honourable obſervance of parole. This is expreſsly mentioned in the caſe of the country militia; and with regard to the citizens of the town, they were promiſed

miſed the ſame ſecurity for their property that the country militia had, and on the ſame terms. Hence it was generally conceived, that the right of the citizens of Charleſton to reſide at their homes, was not only ſtrongly implied, but plainly expreſſed in the capitulation: but as the article reſpecting the inhabitants of the town, only promiſed that they ſhould be priſoners on parole, and did not immediately add in Charleſton, the Britiſh commanders found a ſalvo for their honour in removing gentlemen, charged with no breach of the capitulation, from their houſes, eſtates, wives and children, by offering them that parole in St. Auguſtine, to which they had an acknowledged right in Charleſton. Few ſuch inſtances can be produced in the modern hiſtory of any civilized nation, with whom it is an eſtabliſhed rule to conſtrue capitulations, where ambiguous, in favour of the vanquiſhed. The conquerors, in their great zeal to make ſubjects, forgot the rights of priſoners. To expreſs his indignation at this ungenerous treatment, lieutenant-governor Gadſden refuſed to accept an offered parole in St. Auguſtine, and, with the greateſt fortitude, bore a cloſe confinement in the caſtle of that place for forty-two weeks, rather than give a ſecond one to a power which had plainly violated the engagement contained in the firſt. The other gentlemen, who renewed their paroles in St. Auguſtine, had the liberty of the town, but were treated with indignities unſuitable to their former rank and condition.

Though

Though ſeveral of them had been members of Congreſs, and had filled ſome of the moſt honourable ſtations in South-Carolina; and though they had all given their paroles on the honour of gentlemen, not to exceed certain preſcribed limits; yet, as if no dependence could be placed on theſe ſacred ties, they were ordered every day, by lieutenant-colonel Glazier, to appear on the publick parade, and to anſwer to their names at roll-calling. For upwards of ten months they were ſecluded from their wives and families, and durſt not correſpond with them without ſubjecting every letter to examination. Deſtitute of gold and ſilver, they could ſcarcely ſupport themſelves, and they were leſs able to provide for their connexions, which were left in want and in the power of their conquerors. Cut off from all communication with their countrymen, they could receive no intelligence of publick affairs but through Britiſh channels. In this forlorn ſituation, they were informed of ſeveral deciſive battles, which were repreſented as having completely annihilated every proſpect of American independence, and they were taught to expect the fate of vanquiſhed rebels. They alſo heard from high authority, that the blood of the brave but unfortunate Andrè would be required at their hands. They were told that lieutenant-colonel Glazier, commandant of the garriſon in St. Auguſtine, had announced his fixed reſolution inſtantly to hang up ſix of them, if the exaſperated Americans ſhould execute their threats of putting

ting to death colonel Brown, of the Eaſt-Florida rangers. To all theſe indignities and dangers they ſubmitted, without an application from a ſingle individual of their number for Britiſh protection.

From the time that the citizens before mentioned were ſent off from Charleſton, St Auguſtine was made uſe of to frighten priſoners to petition for the privileges of ſubjects. They who delayed their ſubmiſſion were repeatedly threatened with baniſhment from their families and eſtates, to the inhoſpitable ſhores of that barren country. To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were ſeriouſly reſolved to remove from the country all who refuſed to become ſubjects, an additional number of about thirty citizens, who ſtill remained priſoners on parole, was ſhipped off on the fifteenth of November following.[x] Theſe were treated with more politeneſs than the firſt ſet. The only charge exhibited againſt them, as the reaſon of their exile, was, that 'they diſcovered no diſpoſition to return to their allegiance, and would, if they could, overturn the Britiſh government.' Lord Cornwallis did not ſtop here, but being determined to uſe every method to compel the re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government, as well by rewarding its friends, as puniſhing its oppoſers, his lordſhip proceeded, very ſoon after the action of the ſixteenth, to the ſequeſtration of all eſtates belonging to the decided friends of America.[y] In the execution

[x] See note XXIII. [y] See note XXIV.

of this buſineſs John Cruden, eſquire, was appointed to take poſſeſſion of the eſtates of particular perſons, deſignated in warrants iſſued by earl Cornwallis and lieutenant-colonel Balfour. Theſe were announced to the publick in notifications, of which the following is a ſpecimen:

'In conſequence of the powers in me veſted, 'by the right hon. earl Cornwallis, and warrants 'received from his lordſhip and the commandant of Charleſton, I do hereby make publick, 'to all whom it may concern, that I have given 'the neceſſary orders for the ſeizure of the 'eſtates, both real and perſonal, of thoſe perſons 'whoſe names are under mentioned, excepting 'ſuch property in Charleſton as is ſecured to 'thoſe who were in the town at the time of the 'capitulation; and I do hereby ſtrictly prohibit 'all and every perſon or perſons from attempting 'to conceal, remove, or in any way injure the 'ſaid property, on pain of being puniſhed as 'aiding and abetting rebellion.

'I DO alſo forbid the payment of debts due to 'ſuch perſons whoſe names have been before or 'are hereafter mentioned, and whoſe eſtates are 'now under ſequeſtration; and I am warranted 'to require, that all and every his majeſty's loyal 'ſubjects, who may be indebted as aforeſaid, do 'forthwith furniſh me with an accurate and exact ſtate of the ſame; and ſhould any perſon 'or perſons conceal, or in any reſpect prove

'backward

'backward in delivering to me ſuch information, 'they will be conſidered in the ſame light as 'thoſe who may attempt to remove, conceal or 'injure the moveable property, and treated ac- 'cordingly.

'AND, the more effectually to prevent any 'colluſive practices, I do hereby promiſe to all 'thoſe who may make diſcoveries of the conceal- 'ment of negroes, horſes, cattle, plate, houſe- 'hold furniture, books, bonds, deeds, &c. ſo 'that the property may be ſecured, and the de- 'linquents puniſhed, a generous reward.

'Given under my hand.

(Signed) 'JOHN CRUDEN.'

THE names of perſons whoſe eſtates were ordered for ſequeſtration were, from time to time, ſubjoined.

IN the year 1778, when the then recent capture of general Burgoyne's army, and the alliance with France, inſpired all ranks of men in Carolina with confidence in the final eſtabliſhment of their independence, the legiſlature of that ſtate gave to all the friends of royal government their free choice, of either joining them or of going where they pleaſed, with their families and property. In the year 1780, when the Britiſh arms had the aſcendant, the conquerors gave no alternative, but either to join them, and to fight

fight againſt their countrymen and conſciences, or to be baniſhed, under every reſtriction of priſoners of war. Inſtead of being allowed to carry their eſtates with them, they, whoſe property made it worth while, were ſtripped of every thing; and all, whether their eſtates were ſequeſtered or not, were deprived of the privileges of recovering their debts, and of ſelling or removing their property without the permiſſion of the conquerors. An adherent to independence was now conſidered as one who courted exile, poverty and ruin. The temptation was too great to be reſiſted by thoſe who were attached to their intereſt and eaſe. Numbers who formerly profeſſed great zeal in the ſupport of their country, and who continued their adherence to the cauſe of America after the ſurrender of Charleſton, yielded to theſe temptations, and became Britiſh ſubjects. To diſcourage the other ſtates from any further attempts in behalf of Carolina, an addreſs to lord Cornwallis was drawn up, in which the ſubſcribers 'congratulated him for his 'glorious victory at Camden; and expreſſed their 'indignation at Congreſs for diſturbing the citi-'zens of Carolina, who were repreſented as hav-'ing broken off from the union, and re-united 'themſelves to the Britiſh empire.'[z] Though every method was uſed to obtain ſigners to this addreſs, yet no more than one hundred and ſixty-four could be procured. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, the genius of America roſe ſuperior

[z] See note XXV.

perior to them all. At no time did her ſons appear to greater advantage, than when they were depreſſed by ſucceſſive misfortunes. They ſeemed to gain ſtrength from their loſſes, and, inſtead of giving way to the preſſure of calamities, to oppoſe them with more determined reſolution.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

Of colonel Ferguſon's defeat. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's defeat. Of the retreat of the American army into Virginia. Of their return to North-Carolina. Of the battle of Guilford courthouſe. Of lord Cornwallis's march to Wilmington. General Greene's purſuit, and ſubſequent return to South-Carolina. Of the reduction of fort Watſon. Of the battle of Hobkirk's hill near Camden. Of the evacuation of Camden. Of the reduction of fort Motte. Fort Granby. Fort Cornwallis. Of the ſiege of Ninety-Six. Of the retreat of the American army. Of the battle of Eutaw. The retreat of the Britiſh army to the vicinity of Charleſton, and the diſtreſſes of the American army.

HITHERTO the Britiſh arms to the ſouthward have been attended with almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſs. The royal ſtandards we have ſeen overſpreading all the country, penetrating into every quarter, and triumphing over all oppoſition. Their defeats at the Hanging-Rock and at Williams's, in the upper parts of South-Carolina, made but little impreſſion on an army grown familiar with victories. Checks indeed they were, but nothing more, and the only checks they had ſuſtained ſince their landing in the ſtate. The Britiſh miniſtry, by this flattering poſture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with

with the deluſive hopes of ſubjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged of ſpeedily re-uniting the diſſevered members of the empire. The raſhneſs of general Burgoyne, and the languor of ſir William Howe, were aſſigned as the only cauſes of that ſhame and diſappointment which had already diſgraced five ſucceſſive campaigns. It was now aſſerted with a confidence bordering on preſumption, that ſuch troops as fought at Camden, put under ſuch a commander as lord Cornwallis, would ſoon extirpate rebellion ſo effectually as to leave no veſtige of it in America. The Britiſh miniſtry and army, by an impious confidence in their own wiſdom and proweſs, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfal, an uſeful leſſon to the world.

The diſaſter of the army under general Gates, overſpread, at firſt, the face of American affairs with a diſmal gloom. But the day of proſperity to the United States began, as will appear in the ſequel, from that moment to dawn. Their proſpects brightened up while thoſe of their enemies were obſcured by diſgrace, broken by defeat, and at laſt covered with ruin. Elated with their victory, the conquerors grew more inſolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence, thoroughly alarmed at their danger, became reſolute and determined. We have ſeen Sumpter penetrating into South-Carolina, and recommencing a military oppoſition to Britiſh government.

Soon

Soon after that event he was promoted by governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier-general. About the ſame time Marion was promoted to the ſame rank, and, in the northeaſtern extremities of the ſtate, ſucceſsfully proſecuted the ſame plan. This valuable officer, to whom Carolina is much indebted, had retired from Charleſton during the ſiege, having moſt fortunately for his country fractured his leg, which rendered him incapable of commanding his regiment. After the ſurrender of the metropolis, he retreated to North-Carolina. On the advance of general Gates, he obtained a command of ſixteen men—with theſe he penetrated through the country, and took a poſition near the Santee. From this ſtation he ſallied out, captured a Britiſh guard, and reſcued a party of continental priſoners, who, having been taken on the ſixteenth of Auguſt 1780, were on their way from Camden to Charleſton. On the defeat of general Gates he was compelled to abandon the ſtate; but after an abſence of ten days he returned. Unfurniſhed with the means of defence, he was obliged to take poſſeſſion of the ſaws of the ſawmills, and to convert them into horſemens' ſwords. So much was he diſtreſſed for ammunition, that he has engaged when he had not three rounds to each man of his party. At other times he has brought his men into view, though without ammunition, that he might make a ſhew of numbers to the enemy. For ſeveral weeks he had under his command only ſeventy men, all volunteers from

from the militia. At one time hardſhips and dangers reduced that number to twenty-five; yet, with this inconſiderable force, he ſecured himſelf in the midſt of ſurrounding foes. Various methods were attempted to draw off his followers. Major Wemys burned ſcores of houſes, belonging to the inhabitants living on Peedee, Lynch's creek and Black river, who were ſuppoſed to do duty with him, or to be ſubſervient to his views. This meaſure had a contrary effect from what was expected. Revenge and deſpair co-operated with patriotiſm to make theſe ruined men keep the field. The devouring flames ſent on defenceleſs habitations by blind rage and brutal policy, increaſed not only the zeal, but the number of his followers. The impolitick conduct of the Britiſh on other occaſions gained him frequent reinforcements. On one occaſion major Wemys collected ſome hundreds of the fencible inhabitants, reſiding near the Santee, and in an harangue to them ſet forth, 'that the Britiſh 'were come to reſcue them from tyranny and 'oppreſſion.' While he amuſed them with his eloquence, he had a party out who ſeized all their horſes. The enraged countrymen walked home, but ſoon after many of them repaired to general Marion. For ſeveral months he and his party were obliged to ſleep in the open air, and to ſhelter themſelves in the thick receſſes of deep ſwamps. From theſe retreats he ſallied out whenever an opportunity of haraſſing the enemy or of ſerving his country preſented itſelf. This wor-

thy citizen, on every occaſion, paid the greateſt regard to private property, and reſtrained his men from every ſpecies of plunder. On the whole, he exhibited a rare inſtance of diſintereſted patriotiſm in doing and ſuffering every thing ſubſervient to the independence of his country.

Opposition to Britiſh government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by general Sumpter and general Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the ſtate. The inhabitants of that part of South-Carolina, which is called the New Acquiſition from the circumſtance of its being gained from North-Carolina by a late ſettlement of the boundary-lines between the two provinces, never were paroled as priſoners, nor did they take protection as ſubjects. From among theſe people general Sumpter had recruited a conſiderable part of his men. After his defeat on the eighteenth of Auguſt 1780, ſeveral of them repaired to that ſettlement, and kept in ſmall parties for their own defence. Some of them alſo joined major Davie, an enterpriſing young gentleman who commanded fifty or ſixty volunteers, who had equipped themſelves as dragoons. This was the only American corps which, at that time, had not been beaten or diſperſed. The diſpoſition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of general Gates's army, was not extinguiſhed by its defeat. By that check the ſpirit of the people was over-awed, but not ſubdued. The ſeverity with

with which revolters who were taken had been treated, induced many others to perſevere, and to ſeek ſafety in ſwamps.

EARLY in September 1780 colonel Clark collected a party, and marched through the upper parts of South-Carolina on his way to Georgia. A few joined him in Ninety-Six, but the more prudent diſcouraged him from his ill-timed enterprize. He, however, proſecuted his deſign, and made a bold attempt on the Britiſh poſt at Auguſta, but was ſoon obliged to flee out of the country. This premature inſurrection paved the way to a much more ſerious and general revolt. Colonel Brown, who commanded at Auguſta, being relieved from his fears, treated with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe of the inhabitants who had joined colonel Clark, or who were ſuppoſed to have favoured his deſigns. Suſpicion began to ſpread her baneful poiſon. The Britiſh, having loſt all confidence in their new ſubjects, confined ſome, and threatened others, who were entirely innocent of Clark's inſurrection. Theſe ſeverities diſguſted the people, and actually brought on that revolt which they were intended to prevent. Some leading men were obliged, in ſelf-defence, to break with their conquerors, and reſume their arms in oppoſition to them.

FROM the time of the general ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants in the ſummer of 1780, pains were taken to increaſe the royal force by the co-

operation

operation of the yeomanry of the country. Commiſſions in the militia were given by the Britiſh commanders to ſuch of the inhabitants as they ſuppoſed had influence, and were moſt firmly attached to their intereſt. They perſuaded the people to embody by repreſenting to the uninformed that American affairs were entirely ruined, and that farther oppoſition would only be a prolongation of their diſtreſſes, if not their utter ruin. They endeavoured to reconcile thoſe who had families and were advanced in life to the bearing of arms, by conſiderations drawn from the neceſſity of defending their property and of keeping their domeſticks in proper ſubordination. From young men without families more was expected. Whilſt lord Cornwallis was reſtrained from active operations by the exceſſive heats and unhealthy ſeaſon which followed his victory at Camden, colonel Ferguſon, of the ſeventy-firſt Britiſh regiment, had undertaken perſonally to viſit the ſettlements of the diſaffected to the American cauſe, and to train their young men for ſervice in the field. With theſe, at a proper ſeaſon, he was to join the main army, and to co-operate with it in the reduction of North-Carolina. This corps had been chiefly collected from the remote parts of the ſtate, and was induced to continue for ſome length of time near to the weſtern mountains, with the expectation of intercepting colonel Clark on his retreat from Georgia. Among thoſe who joined colonel Ferguſon were a conſiderable proportion of thoſe licentious

centious people who have collected themſelves out of all parts of America into theſe remote countries, and were willing to take the opportunity of the prevailing confuſion to carry on their uſual depredations. As they marched through the country on the pretence of promoting the ſervice of his Britannick majeſty, they plundered the whig citizens. Violences of this kind, frequently repeated, induced many perſons to conſult their own ſafety by fleeing over the mountains. By ſuch lively repreſentations of their ſufferings as the diſtreſſed are always ready to give, they communicated an alarm to that hardy race of republicans who live to the weſtward of the Alleghany. Hitherto theſe mountaineers had only heard of war at a diſtance, and had been in peaceable poſſeſſion of that independence for which their countrymen on the ſea-coaſt were contending. Alarmed for their own ſafety by the near approach of colonel Ferguſon, and rouſed by the violences and depredations of his followers, they embodied to check the neighbouring foe. This was done of their own motion, without any requiſition from the governments of America, or the officers of the continental army. Being all mounted and unincumbered with baggage, their motions were rapid. Each man ſet out with his blanket, knapſack and gun, in queſt of colonel Ferguſon, in the ſame manner he was uſed to purſue the wild beaſts of the foreſt. At night the earth afforded them a bed, and the Heavens a covering: the running ſtream quenched their thirſt,

thirſt, while a few cattle, driven in their rear, together with the ſupplies acquired by their guns, ſecured them proviſion. They ſoon found out the encampment of colonel Ferguſon. This was on an eminence of a circular baſe, known by the name of King's Mountain, ſituated near the confines of North and South-Carolina. Though colonel Campbell had a nominal command over the whole, their enterprize was conducted without regular military ſubordination, under the direction of the four colonels, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and Williams, each of whom reſpectively led on his own men. It being apprehended that colonel Ferguſon was haſtening his march down the country to join lord Cornwallis, the Americans ſelected nine hundred and ten of their beſt men, and mounted them on their fleeteſt horſes. With this force they came up with colonel Ferguſon on the ſeventh of October 1780. As they approached the royal encampment, it was agreed to divide their force. Some aſcended the mountain, while others went round its baſe in oppoſite directions. Colonel Cleveland, who led one of the detachments round the mountain, in his progreſs, diſcovered an advanced picquet of the royal army. On this occaſion he addreſſed his party in the following plain unvarniſhed language: 'My 'brave fellows, we have beat the tories, and we 'can beat them. They are all cowards. If they 'had the ſpirit of men, they would join with 'their fellow-citizens in ſupporting the indepen-'dence of their country. When engaged you

'are

'are not to wait for the word of command from 'me. I will ſhew you by my example how to 'fight. I can undertake no more. Every man 'muſt conſider himſelf as an officer, and act from 'his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, 'and ſtand your ground as long as you can. 'When you can do no better, get behind trees 'or retreat; but I beg of you not to run quite 'off. If we are repulſed, let us make a point to 'return and renew the fight. Perhaps we may 'have better luck in the ſecond attempt than the 'firſt. If any of you are afraid, ſuch have leave 'to retire, and they are requeſted immediately 'to take themſelves off.' A firing commenced. Some of the Americans were on horſeback, others on foot. Some behind trees, and others expoſed. None were under the reſtraints of military diſcipline, but all were animated with the enthuſiaſm of liberty. The picquet ſoon gave way, and were purſued as they retired up the mountain to the main body. Colonel Ferguſon, with the greateſt bravery, ordered his men to charge. The Americans commanded by colonel Cleveland followed his advice, and, having fired as long as they could with ſafety, they retired from the approaching bayonet. They had ſcarcely given way when the other detachment, commanded by colonel Shelby, having completed the circuit of the mountain, opportunely arrived, and from an unexpected quarter poured in a well-directed fire. Colonel Ferguſon deſiſted from the purſuit, and engaged with his new adverſaries.

verſaries. The Britiſh bayonet was again ſucceſsful, and cauſed them alſo to fall back. By this time the party commanded by colonel Campbell had aſcended the mountain, and renewed the attack from that eminence. Colonel Ferguſon, whoſe conduct was equal to his courage, preſented a new front, and was again ſucceſsful; but all his exertions were unavailing. At this moment the men who began the attack, no leſs obedient to the ſecond requeſt of their commander in returning to their poſts, than they were to the firſt in ſecuring themſelves by a timely retreat, had rallied and renewed their fire. As often as one of the American parties was driven back, another returned to their ſtation. Reſiſtance on the part of colonel Ferguſon was in vain; but his unconquerable ſpirit refuſed to ſurrender. After having repulſed a ſucceſſion of adverſaries pouring in their fire from new directions, this diſtinguiſhed officer received a mortal wound. No chance of eſcape being left, and all proſpect of ſucceſsful reſiſtance being at an end, the ſecond in command ſued for quarters. The killed, wounded and taken, exceeded eleven hundred, of which nearly one hundred were regulars. The aſſailants had the honour of reducing a number ſuperior to their own. The Americans loſt comparatively few, but in that number was that diſtinguiſhed militia-officer, colonel Williams, who has already been mentioned as uncommonly active in heading the whig citizens of the diſtrict of Ninety-Six, in the ſtate of South-Carolina.

Ten

Ten of theſe men who had ſurrendered were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this meaſure by the ſeverity of the Britiſh, who had lately hanged a greater number of Americans at Camden, Ninety-Six and Auguſta. They alſo alleged, that the men who ſuffered were guilty of crimes for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land.

This unexpected advantage gave new ſpirits to the deſponding Americans, and in a great degree fruſtrated a well-concerted ſcheme for ſtrengthening the Britiſh army, by the co-operation of the inhabitants who were diſaffected to the cauſe of America.

It was ſcarcely poſſible for any event to have happened, in the preſent juncture of affairs, more unfavourable to the views of lord Cornwallis, than this reverſe of fortune. The fall of colonel Ferguſon, who poſſeſſed ſuperior talents as a partizan, was no ſmall loſs to the royal cauſe. In addition to the accompliſhments of an excellent officer, he was a moſt exact markſman, and had brought the art of rifle-ſhooting to an uncommon degree of perfection. He had invented a gun of that kind on a new conſtruction, which is ſaid to have far exceeded every thing before known. The total rout of the royaliſts, who had joined colonel Ferguſon, operated as a check on their future exertions. The ſame timid caution which made them averſe from joining their

countrymen, in oppoſing the claims of Great-Britain, reſtrained them from riſking any more in ſupport of the royal cauſe. From this time forward many of them waited events, and reſerved themſelves till the Britiſh army, by their own unaſſiſted efforts, ſhould gain a decided ſuperiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt 1780, lord Cornwallis left a ſmall force in that village, and marched with the main army to Charlotte. Whilſt they lay there, general Sumner and general Davidſon, with a conſiderable body of North-Carolina militia, took poſt in the vicinity, and annoyed their detachments. Major Davie, whoſe corps was greatly increaſed by ſtanch volunteers from the lower country, was particularly ſucceſsful in intercepting their foraging-parties and convoys. Riflemen frequently penetrated near the Britiſh camp, and from behind trees took care to make ſure of their object, ſo that the late conquerors found their ſituation very uneaſy, being expoſed to unſeen danger if they attempted to make an excurſion of only a few hundred yards from their encampment. The defeat of colonel Ferguſon, added to theſe circumſtances, gave a ſerious alarm to lord Cornwallis, and made him, while at Charlotte, apprehenſive for his own ſafety. He therefore retreated, and fixed his next poſition at Winnſborough. As he retired, the militia took ſeveral waggons loaded with

with ſtores, and ſingle men often rode up within gun-ſhot of his army, diſcharged their pieces, and made their eſcape.

THE panick occaſioned by the reduction of Charleſton, and the defeat of general Gates, began to wear off. The defeat of colonel Ferguſon, and the conſequent retreat of lord Cornwallis from Charlotte to Winnſborough, encouraged the American militia to repair to the camps of their reſpective commanders. The neceſſity of the times induced them to ſubmit to the ſtricter diſcipline of regular ſoldiers. The legiſlature of North-Carolina put the militia of their ſtate under the command of general Smallwood, of the continental army.

EARLY in October, major-general Gates detached brigadier-general Morgan from Hillſborough, with three hundred Maryland and Delaware troops, and eighty dragoons, to aid the exertions of the whig citizens of Mecklenburgh and Rowan counties. In an excurſion from this detached poſition, lieutenant-colonel Waſhington penetrated with a ſmall force to the vicinity of Camden, and, on the fourth of December 1780, appeared before colonel Rugely's. This gentleman, having taken a commiſſion in the Britiſh militia, had made a ſtockade-fort round his houſe, in which he had collected one hundred and twelve of the men under his command. The appearance of the force, commanded by lieute-

nant-

nant-colonel Waſhington, produced an immediate ſurrender of this whole party. A pine log enforced the propriety and neceſſity of their ſpeedy unreſiſting ſubmiſſion. This harmleſs timber, elevated a few feet from the ſurface of the earth by its branches which ſtuck in the ground, was moulded by the imagination of the garriſon into artillery, completely equipped with all the apparatus of death.

General Sumpter, ſoon after the diſperſion of his force on the eighteenth of Auguſt 1780, as has been before related, collected a corps of volunteers. About thirty of his party re-joined him immediately after that event. In three days more, one hundred of the whig-citizens in the vicinity, on his requiſition, rendezvouſed at Sugar Creek, and put themſelves under his command. With theſe, and other occaſional reinforcements, though for three months there was no continental army in the ſtate, he conſtantly kept the field in ſupport of American independence. He varied his poſition from time to time about Enoree, Broad and Tyger rivers, and had frequent ſkirmiſhes with his adverſaries. Having mounted his followers, he infeſted the Britiſh with frequent incurſions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and ſo haraſſed them with ſucceſſive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. On the twelfth of November 1780, he was attacked at Broad river by major Weyms, commanding

manding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the Britiſh were defeated, and their commanding officer taken priſoner. Though major Weyms had perſonally ſuperintended the execution of mr. Adam Cuſack, after ordering him to be hung, and though in his pocket was found a memorandum of ſeveral houſes burned by his command, yet he received every indulgence from his conquerors. On the twentieth of the ſame month, general Sumpter was attacked at Black Storks, near Tyger river, by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at the head of a conſiderable party. The action was ſevere and obſtinate. The killed and wounded of the Britiſh was conſiderable. Among the former were three officers, major Money, lieutenants Gibſon and Cope. The Americans loſt very few, but general Sumpter received a wound, which, for ſeveral months, interrupted his gallant enterprizes in behalf of the ſtate. His zeal and activity in animating the American militia when they were diſcouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he diſplayed in ſundry attacks on the Britiſh detachments, procured him the applauſe of his countrymen, and the thanks of Congreſs. [aa]

The continental army which had been collected at Hillſborough, after their diſperſion on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, moved down to Charlotte in the latter end of the year 1780. Congreſs authorized general Waſhington to appoint an officer,

[aa] See note XXVI.

ficer, to take the command in the ſouthern diſtrict. His excellency nominated major-general Greene, a native of the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland, to this important truſt; and in conſequence thereof he arrived in Charlotte the ſecond day of December 1780. This illuſtrious officer was univerſally acknowledged to poſſeſs great military talents, particularly a penetrating judgment, and a deciſive enterpriſing ſpirit. Great were the difficulties he had to encounter. The principal part of his ſtanding-force conſiſted of the few continentals who had eſcaped from the defeat near Camden on the ſixteenth of Auguſt 1780. On the eighth of December, ſix days after general Greene took the command, the returns of the ſouthern army were nine hundred and ſeventy continentals, and one thouſand and thirteen militia. The continentals were without pay, and almoſt without clothing. All ſources of ſupply from Charleſton were ſhut up, and no imported article could be obtained but from a diſtance of near two hundred miles. Though the American force was ſmall, yet the procuring of proviſions for its ſupport, was a matter of the greateſt difficulty. The paper currency was ſo depreciated, that it was wholly unequal to the purchaſe of neceſſaries for the ſuffering ſoldiers. Specie could not be procured. Though general Greene was authorized to diſpoſe of a few bills, drawn by Congreſs on their miniſter at the court of France, on a credit given him by that court, yet, ſuch was the ſituation of the country, that very

very little relief could be obtained from this quarter, and the greateſt part of the bills were returned unſold. The confuſion and diſorder which prevailed near the ſeat of war increaſed the difficulty of procuring ſupplies. The government of North-Carolina had adopted an inconvenient ſyſtem of collecting proviſions. The ſtate was divided into little diſtricts, in which commiſſaries and quartermaſters were duly appointed, but not connected with each other under a common head of the department. General Greene's experience in the buſineſs of quartermaſter enabled him to point out the defects of this arrangement, and to introduce ſuch ſalutary alterations as the publick ſervice required. The good effects of this new ſyſtem, united under one head, were quickly felt. The want of money ſtill remained an inſuperable obſtacle to the purchaſing of proviſions. The only reſource left for ſupplying the American army was by impreſſment. The country had been ſo completely ravaged, that all which could be obtained even in that way, in the vicinity of the army, was far ſhort of a ſufficiency. To ſupply the army, and pleaſe the inhabitants, was equally neceſſary. To ſeize upon their property, and preſerve their kind affections, was a moſt delicate point, and yet of the utmoſt moment, as it furniſhed the army with proviſions without impairing the diſpoſition of the inhabitants to co-operate with the continental troops in recovering the country. This grand object called for the united efforts of both. Therefore,

fore, that the buſineſs of impreſſment might be conducted in the leaſt offenſive manner, it was transferred from the military to the civil officers of the ſtate. This was not only more effectual, but it alſo prevented two other evils of dangerous conſequence—the corruption of the diſcipline of the army—and, the miſapplication of property impreſſed for the publick ſervice.

WITH an inconſiderable army, miſerably provided, general Greene took the field againſt a ſuperior Britiſh regular force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the ſea-coaſt, and was fluſhed with ſucceſſive victories through a whole campaign. To face an hoſt of difficulties, the American general had the juſtice of his cauſe, his own valour and good conduct, a very reſpectable cavalry, and the Maryland and Delaware continentals who had ſerved upwards of four years, and who, for their numbers, were equal to any troops in the world.

MANY of the inhabitants who, from neceſſity, had ſubmitted to the Britiſh government, moſt cordially wiſhed him good ſpeed; but the unſucceſsful attempt of general Gates to recover the country, made the cautious and timid, for ſome time, very ſlow in repairing to the ſtandard of liberty.

SOON after general Greene took the command, he divided his force, and ſent a reſpectable detachment,

tachment, under general Morgan, to the weſtern extremities of South-Carolina, and marched on the twentieth of December with the main body to Hicks's creek, on the north ſide of the Peedee, oppoſite to Cheraw hill. This diviſion of the little American army into two parts, ſo remote from each other that they could not co-operate, was riſking much; but the neceſſity of the caſe gave no alternative. The continental army was too inconſiderable to make ſucceſsful oppoſition to the ſuperior numbers of lord Cornwallis without the moſt powerful co-operation of the militia of the country. To give them an opportunity of embodying it was neceſſary to cover both extremities of the ſtate.

After the general ſubmiſſion of the militia in the year 1780, a revolution took place highly favourable to the intereſts of America. The reſidence of the Britiſh army, inſtead of increaſing the real friends to royal government, diminiſhed their number, and added new vigour to the oppoſite party. In the diſtrict of Ninety-Six, moderate meaſures were at firſt adopted by the Britiſh commanders, but the effects of this were fruſtrated by the royaliſts. A great part of thoſe who called themſelves the King's friends, had been at all times a banditti, to whom rapine and violence were familiar. On the reſtoration of royal government, theſe men preferred their claim to its particular notice. The conquerors were ſo far impoſed on by them, that they promoted

ſome of them who were of the moſt infamous characters. Men of ſuch baſe minds and mercenary principles, regardleſs of the capitulation, gratified their private reſentments, and their rage for plunder, to the great diſtreſs of the new-made ſubjects, and the greater injury of the royal intereſt. Violences of this kind made ſome men break their engagements to the Britiſh, and join the Americans. Their revolt occaſioned ſuſpicions to the prejudice of others who had no intention of following their example. Fears, jealouſies and diſtruſt, haunted the minds of the conquerors. All confidence was at an end. Severe meaſures were next tried, but with a worſe effect. Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, an haughty and imperious officer, who commanded in that diſtrict, was more calculated, by his inſolence and overbearing conduct, to alienate the inhabitants from a government already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was generally diſliked. By an unwarrantable ſtretch of his authority, he iſſued a proclamation, by which it was declared, 'that every man who was not in his 'houſe by a certain day, ſhould be ſubject to 'military execution.' The Britiſh had a poſt in Ninety-Six for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence and murder. Applications were made daily for redreſs, yet in that whole period there was not a ſingle inſtance wherein puniſhment was inflicted either on the ſoldiery or tories. The people ſoon found that there was no ſecurity for their lives,

liberties

liberties or property, under the military government of Britiſh officers, which ſubjected them to the depredations of a malicious mercenary banditti, falſely calling themſelves the friends of royal government. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon diſtreſs, in which they had more to fear from oppreſſion than reſiſtance; they therefore moſt ardently wiſhed for the appearance of an American force. Under theſe favourable circumſtances general Greene detached general Morgan to take a poſition in the weſtern extremity of the ſtate. There he arrived on the twenty-fifth of December 1780. On the twenty-ninth he diſpatched lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, with his own regiment, and two hundred militia-horſe, commanded by lieutenant-colonel M'Call, to attack a body of tories who were plundering the whig inhabitants. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington came up with them on the thirtieth, near Hammond's ſtore-houſe, and charged them, on which they all fled without making any reſiſtance. Many were killed or wounded, and about forty taken priſoners.

On the next day lieutenant-colonel Waſhington detached cornet James Simons, with a command of eleven regulars and twenty-five militia, to purſue the fugitives, and to ſurprize a fort a few miles diſtant, in which general Cunningham commanded about one hundred and fifty Britiſh militia. This fort, ſituated ſeventeen miles from Ninety-Six, was ſtrongly picquetted in every direction;

direction; and, beſides containing a great deal of plunder taken from the whig inhabitants, was well ſtored with forage, grain and other proviſions for the uſe of the Britiſh army. As ſoon as the Americans were diſcovered, general Cunningham and all his men abandoned the fort. Cornet Simons ſtationed his detachment, and, advancing with a flag, demanded their ſurrender. General Cunningham requeſted time to conſult his officers, and five minutes were given him for that purpoſe. In that ſhort ſpace the whole party of tories ran off, and diſperſed themſelves through the woods. Cornet Simons, after deſtroying the fort, and all the proviſions in it, which he could not carry away, rejoined lieutenant-colonel Waſhington without any moleſtation.

THESE ſucceſſes, the appearance of an American army, a ſincere attachment to the cauſe of independence, and the impolitick conduct of the Britiſh, induced ſeveral perſons to reſume their arms, and to act in concert with the detachment of continentals. Lord Cornwallis wiſhed to drive general Morgan from this ſtation, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at the head of a thouſand regulars, was ordered to execute this buſineſs. The Britiſh had two field-pieces, and the ſuperiority of numbers in the proportion of five to four, and particularly of cavalry, in the proportion of three to one. Beſides this inequality of force, two thirds of the troops under general Morgan were militia.

militia. With theſe fair proſpects of ſucceſs lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, on the ſeventeenth of January 1781, engaged general Morgan, with the expectation of driving him out of the country. General Morgan had obtained early intelligence of Tarleton's force and advances, and drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the ſouthern militia, with one hundred and ninety from North-Carolina, under major M'Dowel, were put under the command of colonel Pickens. Theſe formed the firſt line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the ſecond, with orders to form on the right of the ſecond when forced to retire. The ſecond line conſiſted of the light-infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Howard, and a ſmall corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, with his cavalry, and about forty-five militiamen mounted and equipped with ſwords, under lieutenant-colonel M'Call, were drawn up at ſome diſtance in the rear of the whole. The Americans were formed before the Britiſh appeared in ſight. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton halted and formed his men when at the diſtance of about two hundred and fifty yards from the front line of general Morgan's detachment. As ſoon as the Britiſh had formed they began to advance with a ſhout, and poured in an inceſſant fire of muſketry. Colonel Pickens directed the militia under his command not to fire till the Britiſh were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmneſs and ſucceſs, was not ſufficient

to

to repel the advancing foe. The American militia were obliged to retire, but were ſoon rallied by their officers. The Britiſh advanced rapidly and engaged the ſecond line, which, after a moſt obſtinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this criſis of the battle lieutenant-colonel Waſhington made a ſucceſsful charge upon lieutenant-colonel Tarleton who was cutting down the militia. Lieutenant-colonel Howard, almoſt at the ſame moment, rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was inſtantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the Britiſh, occaſioned by theſe unexpected charges. Their advance fell back upon their rear, and communicated a panick to the whole. In this moment of confuſion lieutenant-colonel Howard called to them 'to lay down 'their arms,' and promiſed them good quarters. Upwards of five hundred accepted the offer, and ſurrendered. The firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, and two Britiſh light-infantry companies laid down their arms to the American militia. Previous to this general ſurrender, three hundred of the corps, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, had been killed, wounded or taken. Eight hundred ſtand of arms, two field-pieces, and thirty-five baggage-waggons, alſo fell into the hands of the Americans. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington purſued the Britiſh cavalry for ſeveral miles, but a great part of them eſcaped. The Americans had only twelve men killed,

and

and ſixty wounded. General Morgan, whoſe great abilities were diſcovered by the judicious diſpoſition of his force, and whoſe activity was conſpicuous through every part of the action, obtained the univerſal applauſe of his countrymen. And there never was a commander better ſupported than he was by the officers and men of his detachment. The glory and importance of this action reſounded from one end of the continent to the other. It re-animated the deſponding friends of America, and ſeemed to be like a reſurrection from the dead to the ſouthern ſtates.

General Morgan's good conduct on this memorable day was honoured by Congreſs with a gold medal. That illuſtrious aſſembly, on this occaſion, preſented alſo a medal of ſilver to colonel Waſhington, another to lieutenant-colonel Howard, a ſword to colonel Pickens, a brevet majority to Edward Giles, the general's aid-de-camp, and a captaincy to baron Glaſback, who had lately joined the light-infantry as a volunteer. [bb] This action reflected ſo much honour on the American arms, that general Morgan tranſmitted to Congreſs an official account of the names of the continental officers who ſhared in the glory thereof. [cc] The Britiſh legion, hitherto triumphant in a variety of ſkirmiſhes, on this occaſion loſt their laurels, though they were ſupported by the ſeventh regiment, one battalion of the

[bb] See note XXVII. [cc] See note XXVIII.

the ſeventy-firſt, and two companies of light-infantry. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had hitherto acquired diſtinguiſhed reputation, but he was greatly indebted for his military fame to good fortune and accident. In all his previous engagements he either had the advantage of ſurprizing an incautious enemy—of attacking them when panick-ſtruck after recent defeats—or of being oppoſed to undiſciplined militia. He had gathered no laurels by hard fighting againſt an equal force. His repulſe on this occaſion did more eſſential injury to the Britiſh intereſt than was compenſated by all his victories.

Tarleton's defeat was the firſt link, in a grand chain of cauſes, which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South-Carolina, on the royal intereſt. The ſeries of victories, which had followed the Britiſh arms in the firſt nine months of the year 1780, had been conſidered by the ſanguine royaliſts as deciſive with reſpect to the moſt ſouthern colonies, and had led to the formation of extenſive plans for the year 1781. To favour their execution, major-general Leſlie, with about three thouſand men, was detached from New-York to the Cheſapeak. It was expected that this force would not only create a diverſion in Virginia, but alſo intercept any ſuccours that might be ſent from the American northern army to the ſouthward. The diſtance between the royal armies in Virginia and South-Carolina was too great for an active co-operation.

Lord

Lord Cornwallis therefore ordered general Leſlie to proceed without delay from the Cheſapeak to Charleſton, and to march directly from thence with fifteen hundred men to join the royal army under his own immediate command. To facilitate the intended operations againſt North-Carolina and Virginia, major Craig, with a detachment of about three hundred men from the garriſon of Charleſton, one frigate, and two ſloops of war, took poſſeſſion of Wilmington, in the former ſtate, early in the year 1781, and about the ſame time the latter was again invaded by a conſiderable force from New-York, commanded by general Arnold. This is the ſame Arnold who, after diſtinguiſhing himſelf as an American officer for the firſt five years of the war, changed ſides in the year 1780, and was immediately thereon promoted by the Britiſh to the rank of brigadier-general.

The eſtabliſhment of a Britiſh poſt on Cape Fear river, beſides the diverſion it afforded, was well calculated to furniſh the royal army, while in North-Carolina, with ſupplies by the eaſieſt and ſafeſt conveyance. It was preſumed that the invaſion of Virginia would confine the attention of its inhabitants to their own domeſtick defence; and that the two Carolinas, thus unſupported, would be diſcouraged from perſevering in reſiſtance.

Lord Cornwallis, though preparing to extend

his conqueſts northward, was not inattentive to the ſecurity of South-Carolina. Beſides the force at Charleſton, he left a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of lord Rawdon. Theſe were principally ſtationed at Camden, from which central ſituation they might be eaſily drawn forth to defend the frontiers, or to ſuppreſs internal inſurrections.

While theſe arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced, with the faireſt proſpects to the friends of Britiſh government. The admirers of lord Cornwallis flattered themſelves that his victory at Camden was but the dawn of his glory—that his exertions in the approaching campaign would immortalize his name as the conqueror of America. The determined reſiſtance of the inhabitants of North-Carolina, in front of the royal army, was as little thought of as the unconquerable diſaffection of the citizens of South-Carolina in its rear. Great dependence was placed on the expected co-operation of the loyaliſts. Their numbers and zeal for royal government had been repreſented as ſo conſiderable, that North-Carolina was ſcarcely conſidered in any other light than as the road to Virginia. A junction with the forces under general Arnold was expected at ſo early a day as to give time for proſecuting farther operations againſt Maryland and Pennſylvania. The ſanguine expectations of ſome went ſo far, as to count upon a junction with the royal army in New-York, and the ſubjugation

jugation of every ſtate to the ſouthward of Hudſon's river, before the cloſe of the campaign. Whilſt lord Cornwallis was anticipating, in imagination, a rich harveſt of glory, from a rapid ſucceſſion of victories, he received the intelligence, no leſs unwelcome than unexpected, of the complete overthrow of the detachment led by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. So contemptible, from their conduct at Camden, was his lordſhip's opinion of the American militia—ſo unlimited was his confidence in the courage and abilities of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, that, of all improbable events, none ſeemed to him more improbable than that an inferior force, two thirds militia, ſhould gain ſuch a deciſive advantage over his favourite hero. This unexpected event led to ſtill more ſerious conſequences. The royal army was eſſentially injured in its future movements, for want of the light troops loſt on that occaſion. Beſides, it precipitated the invaſion of North-Carolina before the ſchemes ſubſervient to that grand deſign were fully completed. Lord Cornwallis, with the expectation of regaining the priſoners taken on the ſeventeenth of January at the battle of the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impreſſion made by that engagement, inſtantly began thoſe marches and countermarches, which, after various conflicts and innumerable hardſhips, ultimately terminated in the ſurrender of his whole army.

THE rapid movements of the Britiſh, under the

the expectation of retaking their captive fellow-ſoldiers, induced general Greene immediately to retreat from Hicks's creek, leſt, by croſſing the upper ſources of the Peedee, they ſhould get between him and general Morgan, or intercept his army before it could reach Virginia. Had lord Cornwallis ſucceeded in this ſcheme, he could have interrupted reinforcements and ſupplies coming from Virginia, and might have reduced general Greene to the neceſſity of fighting to a great diſadvantage, and without any place of ſafety for a retreat. In this critical ſituation general Greene rode one hundred and fifty miles through the country to join general Morgan on the Catawba—that, by being in front of lord Cornwallis, he might beſt direct the motions of both diviſions of his army. Major Hyrne had been previouſly detached to receive the Britiſh priſoners, with orders to conduct them to Virginia. Guilford courthouſe was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous for the two diviſions of the Americans; and general Huger, who commanded the main army, was ordered to retreat thither. To favour an expeditious march the heavy baggage was directed, after filing off from the route which general Huger was to purſue, to make all poſſible diſpatch for Hillſborough, and to paſs the Roanoke at Taylor's ferry. This circumſtance enabled the army to move with rapidity, and to croſs the Dan without the loſs of baggage or ſtores.

THE retreat from the Peedee commenced on the twenty-eighth of January 1781, and was conducted under circumſtances requiring the utmoſt exertions of patience. The Americans underwent hardſhips almoſt incredible. Many of them performed this march without ſhoes over frozen ground, and through flinty roads, which ſo gaſhed their naked feet, that the ſpouting blood marked every ſtep of their progreſs. They were ſome time without meat, often without flour, and always without ſpirituous liquors. In this extreme ſeaſon alſo, with very little clothing, they were every day reduced to the neceſſity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of clothes, till the heat of their bodies, and occaſional fires in the woods, dried their tattered rags. Their march led them through a barren country, which ſcarcely afforded neceſſaries for a few ſtraggling inhabitants. They were alſo retarded with apparently unſurmountable difficulties from heavy rains, deep creeks, broken bridges, bad roads and poor horſes. They ſubmitted to all theſe difficulties without the loſs of a ſingle ſentinel by deſertion. Lord Cornwallis deſtroyed his ſuperfluous baggage, and every thing which was not neceſſary in action, or to the exiſtence of the troops. No waggons were reſerved, excepting thoſe loaded with hoſpital-ſtores, ſalt, and ammunition, and four empty ones for the uſe of the ſick. The royal army ſubmitted to unuſual trials and hardſhips, with a moſt general and cheerful acquieſcence.

eſcence. They beheld, without murmuring, their moſt valuable baggage deſtroyed, their ſpirituous liquors ſtaved, when they were entering on a ſervice in which it would be much wanted, and under circumſtances which precluded every proſpect of future ſupply.

THE Britiſh had urged the purſuit of general Morgan with ſo much rapidity, that they came to the ford of the Catawba on the evening of the ſame day that the Americans had croſſed. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain had made it impaſſable. The Americans, confiding in the protection of Heaven, conſidered this event as a ſpecial interpoſition of Providence in favour of their righteous cauſe. It is certain that if the riſing of the river had taken place a few hours earlier, general Morgan, with his whole detachment, and five hundred priſoners, could have ſcarcely had any chance of eſcape. The Americans having effected their paſſage before the rain, major Hyrne proceeded with the priſoners, and general Morgan continued on the north banks of the Catawba, to oppoſe the paſſage of the Britiſh army. At this criſis general Greene joined general Morgan, and prevented his going over the mountains which was intended, and directed the movements of the detachment lately under his command, ſo as to favour the ſcheme of forming a junction at Guilford courthouſe with the main army under general Huger.

As

As ſoon as the paſſage of the Catawba was practicable, lord Cornwallis made preparations for croſſing. The more effectually to deceive the Americans he made a feint of paſſing at ſeveral different fords; but the real attempt was made very early in the morning of the firſt of February, at a ford near M'Cowan's, the north banks of which were defended by a guard of militia, under the command of general Davidſon. The Britiſh marched through the river upwards of five hundred yards wide, and about three feet deep, ſuſtaining the fire from the oppoſing militia, which they never returned till after landing, they formed on the ſhore. The early fall of the brave general Davidſon diſpirited his party, who, ſeeking ſafety in a precipitate flight, left the Britiſh to effect their paſſage without the oppoſition which was at firſt expected. The militia, throughout the neighbouring ſettlements, who had hitherto only heard of the dangers of war, were totally diſpirited. Though general Greene riſked himſelf at a diſtance from his troops to excite them to arms, yet very few of them could be perſuaded to take or keep the field. A ſmall party, collected at Torrans's houſe, about ten miles from the ford, was ſoon diſperſed by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned, and the whole royal army, with their baggage and artillery, croſſed over without any farther oppoſition.

A MILITARY race now commenced between the

the purſuing Britiſh and the fleeing Americans. The latter retreated as expeditiouſly as poſſible, and croſſed the Yadkin partly in flats and partly by fording on the ſecond and third days of February, and ſecured the boats on the north ſide. Though lord Cornwallis was cloſe in the rear, yet the want of boats, and the rapid riſing of the river, from preceding rains, made his croſſing impoſſible. This ſecond hair-breadth eſcape was conſidered by the Americans as a freſh evidence that their cauſe was favoured by Heaven. They viewed it in every point of light with pious gratitude, and frequently remarked, that if the riſing of the river had taken place a few hours earlier, it would have put general Morgan's whole detachment in the power of a greatly ſuperior army; if a few hours later, that the paſſage of it would have been effected by lord Cornwallis, ſo as to have enabled him to get between the two diviſions of the American army, a circumſtance which might have been of fatal conſequence to both. That the Americans with their priſoners ſhould, in two ſucceſſive inſtances, effect their paſſage, while the Britiſh, whoſe advance was often in ſight of the rear of their retreating enemy, ſeemed to be providentially reſtrained, affected the devout people of that ſettlement with lively thankfulneſs to Heaven, which added freſh vigour to their exertions in behalf of their country.

THE Britiſh having failed in their ſcheme of croſſing at the trading ford on the Yadkin, were obliged

obliged to march to the upper fords which are generally paſſable. This gave time for the junction of the two diviſions of the American army.

WHILE matters were in this ſituation between the two main armies, general Marion, though ſurrounded with enemies, had defended himſelf with a few faithful militia in the ſwamps and moraſſes of the ſettlements near Charleſton, and was frequently ſallying out from his hiding-places, and enterpriſing ſomething in behalf of his country. Having mounted his followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With theſe light troops he intercepted the Britiſh convoys of proviſions, infeſted their out-poſts, beat up their quarters, and haraſſed them with ſuch frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard. On the twenty-ninth of January 1781 he ſent two ſmall detachments of militia-dragoons, under the command of major Poſtell and captain Poſtell, to croſs the Santee. The former deſtroyed a great quantity of valuable ſtores at Manigault's ferry; the latter did the ſame at another place in the vicinity. Thence he marched to Reithfield near Monk's Corner, where he deſtroyed fourteen waggons loaded with ſoldiers' clothing and baggage, beſides ſeveral other valuable ſtores, and took forty priſoners, chiefly Britiſh regulars, and effected the whole without any loſs.

GENERAL Greene and general Huger formed

a junction on the ſeventh of February 1781, near Guilford courthouſe. Though this was effected, their whole number was ſo much inferior to the Britiſh, that general Greene could not, with any propriety, riſk an action. In this critical ſituation he called a council of officers, who unanimouſly concurred in opinion, that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid a general action till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, well knowing the inferiority of the American army, conceived hopes, by getting between general Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat —intercept his ſupplies and reinforcements—and oblige him to fight while he was hemmed in by the great rivers in the weſt, the ſea on the eaſt, lord Rawdon in the ſouth, and the main royal army in the north. To this end his lordſhip kept the upper country, where only the rivers are fordable, ſuppoſing, from information, that his adverſaries, from the want of a ſufficient number of flats, could not make good their paſſage in the deep water; or, in caſe of that attempt, he preſumed he would overtake and force general Greene to an action before the American army could croſs. In the proſecution of this plan, lord Cornwallis was completely baffled. The advantages reſulting from the ſeaſon of the year, and from the face of the country, interſected with rivers and creeks, were ſo improved by general Greene as to elude his lordſhip. The ſervices of the light army were never more eſſentially neceſſary or conſpicuous than on this retreat.

treat. To increaſe its force, the legion, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lee, was therefore incorporated with it, and the regular battalion of infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Howard, was filled up—The whole, including thoſe two corps, the cavalry commanded by lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, and a ſmall corps of Virginia rifleмen, under major Campbell, amounted to about ſeven hundred of the flower of the American army. The command of this light corps was given to colonel Williams, commandant of the Maryland line, and deputy adjutant-general of the American army. The manœuvres of this valuable detachment, in ſeconding the views of general Greene, reflected the greateſt honour on its leader, and contributed much to fruſtrate the ſchemes of earl Cornwallis. The retreat commenced from Guilford court-houſe the tenth of February. The better to avoid a rapid purſuit, the main and light army took different routes. The next day the latter had a rencounter with the van of the Britiſh army, in which an officer and ſix or ſeven of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's legion were made priſoners, and ſeveral were killed. Frequent ſkirmiſhes and the manœuvres which were practiſed to miſlead lord Cornwallis, with regard to the route that the main army was to purſue, had the deſired effect, and gave general Greene time to ſend forward his baggage. The deſign of the American general, notwithſtanding he aſſumed appearances of confidence, became every day more apparent.

Lord

Lord Cornwallis grew more ardent, and urged his purſuit with ſo much rapidity, that the American light troops were, on the fourteenth, compelled to retire upwards of forty miles. By the moſt indefatigable exertions general Greene had that day, without any loſs or interruption, tranſported his main army, artillery and baggage into Virginia, by croſſing Boyd's and Irwin's ferries on the Dan, and perſonally waited the arrival of the light troops, all of which he ſaw ſafe over the river that night—ſo rapid was the purſuit, and ſo narrow the eſcape, that the van of the Britiſh juſt arrived as the rear of the Americans had croſſed. The hardſhips and difficulties which the royal army had undergone in this rapid march, were exceeded by the mortification that all their toils and exertions were in vain. They conceived it next to impoſſible that general Greene could eſcape without receiving a deciſive blow; they therefore, with vigour and perſeverance, encountered and ſurmounted diſtreſſes and difficulties of which they, who reſide in cultivated countries, can form no adequate ideas. After theſe ſufferings, when they fancied themſelves within graſp of their object, they diſcovered that all their hopes were fruſtrated.

THOUGH lord Cornwallis failed in his main object, yet he conſoled himſelf with the idea that he had driven the rebel army out of the province, and that there was now no force in North-Carolina to prevent the loyal inhabitants from

from making good their promiſe of a general riſing in favour of Britiſh government. His lordſhip being in no condition to invade ſo powerful a ſtate as Virginia, deſiſted from any farther purſuit of the American army. And in order to encourage the loyaliſts, he retired to Hillſborough, and there erected the royal ſtandard, and to it invited, by proclamation, all his friends to repair.[dd] Some particular cauſes had operated in North-Carolina very favourably to his lordſhip's expectations. A few years before the commencement of the American war a large body of men, under the denomination of Regulators, oppreſſed with the mal-practices of ſome avaricious individuals, had forcibly oppoſed the adminiſtration of civil government under the officers of the crown. Theſe inſurgents, though numerous, being undiſciplined, and for the moſt part without arms, were eaſily diſperſed by governor Tryon at the head of the incorporated militia of the country. Some of their leaders were killed in action, others were hanged, and all of them were involved in diſtreſs. This large body, having ſo recently experienced the power of royal government, never heartily acquieſced in the meaſures of Congreſs. They conſidered them as ſimilar in their origin, and moſt likely to be ſo in their conſequences, to their own unfortunate ſchemes of regulation. Theſe diſſentients, from the general voice of America, were artfully managed by the royal governors Tryon and

[dd] See note XXIX.

and Martin, and formed into a party for the ſupport of Britiſh government. There was alſo a numerous ſettlement of Scotch Highlanders in that ſtate, particularly at Croſs-Creek, who, in common with a majority of their countrymen elſewhere, were inimical to the cauſe of America. From theſe, and other cauſes which operated on the timid, the ſelfiſh and uninformed, the friends of royal government were, at this particular period, more numerous perhaps in North-Carolina than in any other of the ſtates. A fair opportunity was now given for their manifeſting to the world, whether they oppoſed American meaſures from ignorance, cowardice, intereſt, or from a virtuous love of the old conſtitution. To counteract his lordſhip's ſcheme of embodying the tories, the American army very ſuddenly, on the twenty-third day of the ſame month, re-croſſed the Dan, and immediately after ſome light troops, commanded by general Pickens and lieutenant-colonel Lee, were detached in purſuit of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. This officer, with a conſiderable force of cavalry and infantry, had croſſed over Haw river to countenance the royaliſts, and encourage them to an inſurrection. Colonel Pyles, at the head of three hundred and fifty tories, on their way to join the Britiſh, fell in with this light American party, and as he had no ſuſpicion of their having re-croſſed the Dan, miſtook them for the detachment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The Americans attacked them, labouring under this miſtake, to great

great advantage, and cut them down as they were making ardent proteſtations of loyalty, and aſſerting, 'that they were the very beſt friends 'of the King.' Men of this character much more rarely found mercy than the regular ſoldiers from Europe. They were conſidered by the whig Americans as men, who not only wanted ſpirit to defend their natural rights, but who co-operated with foreigners to fix the chains of ſlavery on themſelves and their countrymen. On this occaſion they ſuffered the extremity of military vengeance. About the ſame time lieutenant-colonel Tarleton cut down ſeveral of them as they were coming to join the Britiſh army, miſtaking them for rebel militia of the country. The recroſſing of general Greene induced lord Cornwallis to decamp from Hillſborough, within ſix days after the proclamation in which he had called on his friends to rendezvous at that place. His lordſhip continued for many days to manœuvre in that part of the country where colonel Pyles was defeated, that the royaliſts might have an opportunity to join him; but, to his great mortification, he found nothing, as he expreſſed it in his official deſpatches, but 'timid friends or invete-'rate enemies.' The advocates for royal government were ſo diſcouraged by this ſeries of adverſe accidents, that they could not be induced to act with confidence. Their ſituation over a large extent of country was ſo diſperſed, that it was not eaſy to bring them to unite in any common plan. They had not the advantage of a

ſuperintending

ſuperintending congreſs to give ſyſtem, or concert to their ſchemes. While each party purſued ſeparate meaſures, all were obliged to ſubmit to the American governments. Conſiderable numbers of them were on their way to join lord Cornwallis, but being ſtruck with terror at the unexpected return of the American army, and with the unhappy fate of their brethren, they returned home to wait events. [ee] Lord Cornwallis found himſelf no leſs diſappointed in his expectations of great aid from the loyaliſts in North-Carolina, than he had been in his former ſchemes of compelling general Greene to an engagement.

The retreat of the Americans to Virginia at length rouſed the people of that ſtate from their lethargy. During the three preceding years the Virginians had greatly fallen off from that military ardour and love of their country which diſtinguiſhed them in the years 1776 and 1777. The firſt heat of paſſion being over, they were fond of recurring to their beloved eaſe, and of reſuming their uſual habits of life. Their exertions, as well againſt the invaders within their own limits, as in aid of the diſtreſſed ſouthern ſtates, were far below the martial character which they had eſtabliſhed in the firſt years of the war, and ſtill farther ſhort of what the citizens of North and South-Carolina expected from the extenſive, opulent and powerful dominion of Virginia. The gains of commerce, and the airy ſchemes ſuggeſted by ſpeculations,

[ee] See note xxx.

lations, and an unſettled value of money, co-operating with the temporary ſecurity which a great part of the ſtate enjoyed, had rendered many of them inattentive to the general cauſe of America. Danger, brought to their doors, awakened them to a ſenſe of their duty—great numbers of militia turned out, but few of them were armed, and fewer ſtill could be perſuaded to croſs into North-Carolina. From the whole a ſmall brigade, conſiſting of between four or five hundred men, commanded by general Stevens, was all of the reinforcement the American general received while in Virginia, that came with him over the Dan. It was riſking much to turn about, and face the Britiſh army, with this trifling reinforcement; but ſuch was the critical ſituation of North-Carolina, that it would have been riſking much more to have delayed. The deciſive enterpriſing general Greene formed the bold reſolution of re-croſſing, and of manœuvering in the face of a ſuperior foe, till his expected reinforcements ſhould come up. The two armies once more encamped in the vicinity of each other. The reſpective commanders almoſt daily changed their poſition, endeavouring to gain ſome advantage. During three weeks there was a complete trial of military ſkill. In the movements on this occaſion, native-genius fairly carried the palm from the arts and diſcipline of regular military education. It was the intereſt of general Greene to avoid an action till he was reinforced, but at the ſame time to keep

the field ſo near his antagoniſt as would prevent his foraging to advantage—and his receiving reinforcements from the tories of North-Carolina. All this was done with an inferior army, till the Americans were reinforced with another brigade of militia from Virginia, commanded by general Lawſon, and four hundred regulars raiſed for eighteen months, beſides two brigades of militia from North-Carolina, one commanded by general Butler, the other by general Eaton. The whole of theſe reinforcements arrived about the eleventh of March. Soon after which the general diſſolved the conſtitution of the light army, with expreſſions of great obligations to colonel Williams, and the officers and men of that corps, for their good conduct in the late dangerous criſis. Another arrangement then took place. The army marched to Guilford courthouſe, and every preparation was made for an engagement. On this occaſion general Greene iſſued the following order: 'The great probability of coming to a 'general action, in a ſhort time, muſt be a con-'ſideration that will induce every good officer 'and ſoldier to do his duty; and, if order and 'diſcipline are maintained, ſo great confidence 'has the general in the bravery of his troops, 'that he flatters himſelf the efforts of his coun-'trymen will be favoured by Heaven, and crown-'ed with ſucceſs.' The American general having now a ſuperiority of numbers, eſpecially of cavalry, determined no longer to avoid an action. The fate of both Carolinas was in ſome degree ſuſ-

pended

pended on the iſſue of this important engagement. Had the American army been unſucceſsful, as in the preceding battle of Camden, Virginia would have become the ſouthern frontier, and royal government would have inſtantly been re-eſtabliſhed in North-Carolina, and greatly ſtrengthened in South-Carolina. Had the Britiſh army been routed, the conſequences to them would have been much more fatal. Far from their ſhipping, and deſtitute of ſupplies, they would have found it difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to have made good their retreat. To them a defeat muſt have been completely ruinous; but as general Greene had ſuch a ſuperiority of cavalry as ſecured him from almoſt the poſſibility of an irretrievable misfortune, his being beaten could be no more than a partial evil. The greateſt part of his army conſiſted of militia, who do all at a ſingle effort—are ſoon diſguſted—and find reaſon for deſertion if kept long inactive. He had therefore much more to hope than to fear from a general action. This accordingly took place on the fifteenth of March 1781, near Guilford courthouſe.

The American army conſiſted of four thouſand four hundred and ninety-one men, of which two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three were militia of North-Carolina and Virginia, one thouſand and ſixty from the firſt ſtate, and ſixteen hundred and ninety-three from the laſt—The Britiſh of about two thouſand four hundred men, chiefly

chiefly troops grown veteran in victories. The American army was drawn up in three lines; the front compoſed of North-Carolina militia, under the command of general Butler and general Eaton; the ſecond of Virginia militia, commanded by general Stevens and general Lawſon; the third and laſt of the Maryland and Virginia continentals, amounting to fourteen hundred and ninety rank and file, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, with his cavalry, and a corps of Delaware light-infantry, and ſome riflemen under colonel Lynch, covered the right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, and ſome riflemen under colonel Campbell, the left. After a briſk cannonade in front, the Britiſh advanced in three columns, the Heſſians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant-colonel Webſter's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adverſaries were at the diſtance of one hundred and forty yards. Some of the North-Carolina militia, who compoſed this line, fired once, but a great number ran away without firing or being fired upon. All exertions of their officers to rally them were ineffectual. The Virginia militia behaved much better—kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat, and did great execution. General Stevens had poſted forty riflemen at equal diſtances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to ſhoot every man who ſhould leave his poſt. This gallant officer, though

he

he received a wound through the thigh, did not quit the field. He had the addreſs to prevent his brigade from receiving any bad impreſſions from the retreating North-Carolinians, by giving out that they had orders to retire after diſcharging their pieces. To cheriſh this idea he ordered the militia, under his command, to open their files to favour their paſſage. The continental troops were laſt engaged, and Huger fought with great ſpirit. Towards the cloſe of the action, a charge was made on the Britiſh guards by the cavalry of lieutenant-colonel Waſhington and the Maryland troops, commanded by colonel Gunby and lieutenant-colonel Howard, with ſuch execution that the whole corps was nearly annihilated. After a ſevere conflict of an hour and a half, the diſcipline of veteran troops carried the point againſt numbers. General Greene abandoned the field to his rival, ſtill however ſhewing a good face; he retreated no farther than over the Reedy Fork, a diſtance of three miles. The Americans loſt four ſix-pounders which had been in the poſſeſſion of both armies in different ſtages of the action. This victory coſt the Britiſh dear. Their killed and wounded exceeded ſix hundred men. The guards loſt colonel Stuart, with the captains Schutz, Maynard and Goodriche, beſides ſubalterns. Colonel Webſter, an officer of diſtinguiſhed reputation, died of his wounds, to the great injury of the ſervice, and the univerſal regret of the royal army. Brigadier-generals

O'Hara

O'Hara and Howard, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with ſeveral other officers, were wounded.

About three hundred of the continentals and one hundred of the Virginia militia were killed and wounded, among the former was major Anderſon, of the Maryland line, a valuable officer, and the ſame who behaved ſo well in general Gates's defeat. Among the latter were general Huger and general Stevens. The early retreat of the North-Carolinians ſaved them from much loſs. Though the Americans had fewer killed and wounded than the Britiſh, yet their army ſuſtained a greater diminution by the numerous fugitives from the militia, who no more re-joined the camp. Lord Cornwallis ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that he was in no condition to improve the advantage he had gained. The Britiſh had only the name, the Americans all the good conſequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis kept the field; but, notwithſtanding, the Britiſh intereſt, in North-Carolina, was ruined by this action. Three days after the battle lord Cornwallis iſſued a proclamation, ſetting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal ſubjects to ſtand forth, and take an active part in reſtoring good order and government; and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would ſurrender themſelves on or before the twentieth day of April.[ff] On the day on which this proclamation was iſſued, his

[ff] See note XXXI.

his lordſhip left his hoſpital and ſeventy-five wounded men with the numerous loyaliſts in the vicinity of Guilford, and began a march towards the ſea-coaſt, which had the appearance of a retreat. Thirteen days before the expiration of this act of grace he had reached his ſhipping at Wilmington, all the upper country remaining in the power of general Greene's army. Amneſties in civil wars, not only ſhew the greateſt generoſity, but are productive of the beſt conſequences when they follow great ſucceſſes, and are iſſued by the power that has gained a decided ſuperiority. The preſent was introduced with a recital to this purpoſe; but the well-known ſituation of the conquerors induced even their friends to believe, that their diſpoſition to receive protection and aſſiſtance from the royaliſts of North-Carolina far exceeded their abilities to extend it to them. Much in particular was expected from the numerous Scotch Highlanders, ſettled at Croſs-Creek, who had uniformly oppoſed American meaſures. Lord Cornwallis, though he marched through their ſettlements, found the inhabitants, to his great mortification, generally unwilling to give their perſonal ſervices in the field, and their country poor and unable to afford ſupplies for his diſtreſſed army. General Greene no ſooner received authentick information of the movement of lord Cornwallis, than he immediately put his army in motion to follow him. This purſuit was continued as far as Ramſay's mill, on Deep River, with ſuch rapidity that the

the American army arrived ſoon after the departure of the Britiſh. In this march proviſions were ſo ſcarce, that the American ſoldiers gleaned the ſlaughter-pens of their adverſaries, and fed on the garbage which in common is the deſtined repaſt for turkey-buzzards, and other obſcene birds. After a delay of near three weeks at Wilmington, the Britiſh army marched from that place by a route which left it doubtful, whether their intention was to return to South-Carolina or to proceed to Virginia. Had his lordſhip adopted the firſt plan, he might have prolonged the ſubjection of South-Carolina and Georgia, but his enterpriſing ſpirit could not endure inaction, and he had too much pride to turn back. He was, beſides, induced to proceed, from an opinion that ſolid operations in Virginia would be the moſt effectual plan for ſecuring the royal conqueſts in South-Carolina, and effecting the ſubmiſſion of North-Carolina.

Lord Cornwallis met with no oppoſition of conſequence in marching from Wilmington to Peterſburg. On the twentieth of May he formed a junction with the Britiſh forces in Virginia, commanded by major-general Philips and brigadier-general Arnold. Before and after his lordſhip's arrival, the royal army traverſed a great part of that ſtate, plundering the inhabitants, and laying waſte the country. [gg] At length, in the cloſe of the campaign, his lordſhip, with the force

[gg] See note xxxii.

force under his command, was ſurrounded and captured in York-Town; events which ſhall be more particularly related in the next chapter. I now follow the progreſs of the continental army.

Before it was certainly known that lord Cornwallis had determined to proceed to Virginia, the bold reſolution of re-commencing military operations in South-Carolina was formed by general Greene. This was one of the times in which more is to be done by a wiſe plan of operations than by numbers. Had the American army followed his lordſhip, the ſouthern ſtates would have conceived themſelves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed juſt as the army marched north or ſouth. Though lord Cornwallis marched through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina the people conſidered that movement of his lordſhip more in the light of a retreat than a conqueſt. Had general Greene retired before lord Cornwallis, the people would have been diſpirited, and many would have joined the royal army. Theſe, with the large reinforcements lord Cornwallis would have received, not only from South-Carolina, but from the Iriſh troops that arrived in Charleſton in a few weeks after his departure from Wilmington, together with his having a ſecure retreat into North-Carolina, might have ſaved his lordſhip from the cataſtrophe of York-Town.

It was no ſooner known in South-Carolina that lord Cornwallis had left the ſtate in purſuit of the American army, than general Sumpter, who had juſt recovered from his wound, collected a force to penetrate into the heart of the country, as well with the deſign of diſtracting the views of the Britiſh, as of encouraging the friends of independence. To this end, early in February 1781, he croſſed the Congaree, and appeared in force before fort Granby, and deſtroyed its magazines. Lord Rawdon advanced from Camden for the relief of the poſt, on which general Sumpter retreated; but immediately appeared before another Britiſh poſt near colonel Thomſon's. On the ſecond day after this excurſion, he attacked and defeated an eſcort convoying ſome waggons and ſtores from Charleſton to Camden. Thirteen of the Britiſh detachment were killed, and ſixty-ſix were taken priſoners. The captured ſtores were ſent in boats down the Congaree; but on their paſſage they were re-taken. General Sumpter, with three hundred and fifty horſemen, ſwam acroſs the Santee, and proceeded to fort Watſon at Wright's Bluff; but on lord Rawdon's marching from Camden for its relief, he retired to Black River. On his return he was attacked near Camden by major Frazer, at the head of a conſiderable force of Britiſh regulars and militia. The major loſt twenty of his men, and was obliged to retreat. General Sumpter, having by this excurſion, ſatisfied the friends of independence in the centre of the ſtate, that their

cauſe

cauſe was not deſperate, retired in ſafety to the borders of North-Carolina. Hitherto all his enterprizes had been effected by volunteers from the militia; but the long continued ſervices in the field which were required, pointed out the propriety of a more permanent corps. General Sumpter, therefore, in March 1781, with the approbation of general Greene, enliſted three ſmall regiments of regular ſtate-troops, to be employed in conſtant ſervice for the ſpace of ten months. With theſe, and the returning continental army, as ſhall ſhortly be related, the war re-commenced in South-Carolina with new vigour, and was carried on with more regularity.

General Greene having determined to return to South-Carolina, he ſent orders to general Pickens to collect the militia of his brigade, and to prevent ſupplies from going to the Britiſh garriſons at Ninety-Six and Auguſta. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, and part of the ſecond Maryland brigade, was ordered to advance before the continental troops, to co-operate with general Marion.

About the time that theſe preparations were making to renew the war in South-Carolina, ſeventy-ſix exiles, who had been compelled to ſeek refuge with general Marion, on the north ſide of Santee, re-croſſed that river, with the bold deſign of re-viſiting their own ſettlements. Some of them were from the militia on the ſea-coſt of Carolina

Carolina to the ſouthward of Charleſton, and others from Georgia. The firſt commanded by colonel Harden, the latter by colonel Baker. On their way they fell in with about twenty-five of the royal militia at Four Holes, and captured the whole of them. The privates were paroled, and their officers carried off. As they marched through the country, parties were ſent to the houſes of the officers of the royal militia, ſome of whom were taken, and others fled to Charleſton. Colonel Harden had two or three ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes with detachments of the Britiſh, but his capital manœuvre was the ſurprize of fort Balfour, at Pokataligo. By his addreſs and good management in this enterprize three Britiſh colonels of militia, Fenwick, Lechmere, and Relfal, with thirty-two regular dragoons, and fifty-ſix privates of the royal militia, ſurrendered on the twelfth of April 1781, to this handful of returning exiles, without any loſs on their part. Colonel Harden had his party conſiderably increaſed by daily acceſſions of the people inhabiting the ſouthern ſea-coaſt of Carolina. With their aid he proſecuted, in that part of the ſtate, the ſame ſucceſsful plan of oppoſition to the Britiſh which was begun much earlier in the north-weſtern and north-eaſtern extremities under the auſpices of his gallant co-adjutors Sumpter and Marion.

On the ſeventh of April general Greene marched, with the main army, from Deep River, in North-Carolina, towards Camden. The Britiſh

were

were no leſs alarmed than ſurprized when they heard that lieutenant-colonel Lee had penetrated through the country, and in eight days effected a junction with general Marion near the Santee, and that the main body of the Americans encamped on the nineteenth of April before Camden. To ſecure the proviſions that grow on the fertile banks of the Santee and Congaree rivers, the Britiſh had erected a chain of poſts in their vicinity. One of the moſt important of theſe was on an eminence, known by the name of Wright's Bluff, and called fort Watſon. This was cloſely inveſted on the fifteenth of April 1781 by about eighty militiamen under general Marion, and by the continentals commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lee. Neither party had any other means of annoyance or defence but muſketry. Though the ground on which the fort ſtood was an Indian mount, thirty or forty feet high, yet the beſiegers, under the direction of colonel Maham, erected, in a few days on an unuſual plan, a work much higher. From this eminence the American riflemen fired into the fort with ſuch execution, that the beſieged durſt not ſhew themſelves. On the twenty-third the garriſon, conſiſting of one hundred and fourteen men, commanded by lieutenant M'Kay, ſurrendered by capitulation.

Camden, before which the main army was encamped, is a village ſituated on a plain covered on the ſouth and eaſt ſides by the Wateree, and

a

a creek which empties itſelf into that river. On the weſtern and northern by ſix ſtrong redoubts. It was defended by lord Rawdon with about nine hundred men. The American army, conſiſting of about ſeven hundred continentals, was unequal to the taſk of carrying this poſt by ſtorm, or of completely inveſting it. The general therefore took a good poſition at Hobkirk's hill, about a mile diſtant, in expectation of favourable events, and with a view of alluring the garriſon out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his muſicians, drummers, and every thing that could carry a firelock, and with great ſpirit ſallied on the twenty-fifth. An engagement enſued. Victory for ſome time very evidently inclined to the ſide of the Americans; but, in the progreſs of the action, the fortune of the day was changed, and the Britiſh kept the field. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington was ordered to turn the right flank of the Britiſh, and to charge in their rear. While he executed this order, he was ſo confident of the ſucceſs of the main army, that he divided his men into ſmall parties, and made them take ſuch poſitions as he thought moſt eligible for intercepting the fugitives on their retreat to Camden. At one time he had in his poſſeſſion upwards of two hundred; but he relinquiſhed the greateſt part of them on ſeeing the American army retreat. On this unexpected reverſe of fortune he paroled the officers on the field of battle—collected his men—wheeled round—and made his retreat good, with the loſs of three men, and at the ſame time

brought

brought off near fifty priſoners. In this action the loſs of the Americans in killed, wounded and miſſing, was about two hundred.[hh] The Britiſh had one officer killed, and eleven taken priſoners. General Greene retreated, in good order, with his artillery and baggage, to Gun Swamp, about five miles from the place of action. In the evening after this action lieutenant-colonel Waſhington marched with fifty men of the cavalry within a mile of the Britiſh army, and after ſending forward a ſmall party, concealed his principal force in the woods. As ſoon as the advanced ſmall party was diſcovered, major Coffin, at the head of about forty of the Iriſh volunteers, purſued them a conſiderable diſtance. After the Britiſh party had paſſed the American cavalry which was concealed, the latter ruſhed from the woods, and charged them ſo briſkly in the rear, that they loſt upwards of twenty of their number.

VERY ſoon after the action on the twenty-fifth of April, general Greene, knowing that the Britiſh garriſon could not ſubſiſt long in Camden without freſh ſupplies from Charleſton or the country, detached a reinforcement to general Marion on the road to Nelſon's ferry, and, on the third of May, croſſed the Wateree, and took occaſionally ſuch poſitions as would moſt effectually prevent ſuccours from going into the town from that quarter. On the ſeventh of May lord Rawdon received a conſiderable reinforcement by the

[hh] See note XXXIII.

the arrival of the detachment under lieutenant-colonel Watſon. With this increaſe of force he attempted, on the day following, to compel general Greene to another action, but ſoon found that this was impracticable. Failing in his deſign, he returned to Camden, and on the tenth burned the gaol, mills, many private houſes, and a great deal of his own baggage—evacuated the poſt—and retired with his whole army to the ſouth of the Santee, leaving about thirty of his own ſick and wounded, and as many of the Americans, who, on the twenty-fifth of April, had fallen into his hands. Lord Rawdon diſcovered as great prudence in this evacuation of Camden as he had ſhewn bravery in its defence. The fall of fort Watſon broke the chain of communication with Charleſton, and the poſitions of the American army intercepted all ſupplies from the country. The return of general Greene to the ſouthward being unexpected, the ſtores of the garriſon were not provided for a ſiege. Lord Rawdon had the honour of ſaving his men, though he loſt the poſt, the country, and the confidence of the tories. He offered every aſſiſtance in his power to the friends of Britiſh government who would accompany him; but it was a hard alternative to the new-made ſubjects, to be obliged to abandon their property, or to be left at the mercy of their exaſperated countrymen. Several families nevertheleſs accompanied his lordſhip. Theſe were cruelly neglected after their arrival in Charleſton. They built themſelves huts without the works.

Their

Their ſettlement was called Rawdon-Town, which, from its poverty and wretchedneſs, became a term of reproach. Many women and children, who lived comfortably on their farms near Camden, ſoon died of want in theſe their new habitations.

This evacuation animated the friends of Congreſs, and gave a very general alarm to the Britiſh. The former had been called upon for their perſonal ſervices, to aſſiſt in regaining the country, but were diſheartened by the repulſe of general Greene from before Camden; but, from the moment that lord Rawdon evacuated this place, their numbers daily increaſed, and the Britiſh poſts fell in quick ſucceſſion. On the day after the evacuation of Camden, the garriſon of Orangeburgh, conſiſting of ſeventy Britiſh militia, and twelve regulars, ſurrendered to general Sumpter. The next day fort Motte capitulated. After the ſurrender of fort Watſon, general Marion and lieutenant-colonel Lee croſſed the Santee, and moved up to this poſt, which lies above the Fork on the ſouth ſide of the Congaree, where they arrived on the eighth of May. The approaches were carried on ſo rapidly that a houſe in the centre of the fort was ſet on fire the fourth day after they began the entrenchments, and the garriſon, which conſiſted of one hundred and ſixty-five men, commanded by lieutenant M'Pherſon, was compelled, after a brave defence, to ſurrender at diſcretion. On this occaſion mrs.

Motte diſplayed an eminent example of diſintereſted patriotiſm. The Britiſh had built their works round her dwellinghouſe, on which ſhe removed to a neighbouring hut. When ſhe was informed that firing the houſe was the eaſieſt mode of reducing the garriſon, ſhe preſented the beſiegers with a quiver of African arrows, to be employed for that purpoſe. Skewers armed with combuſtible materials were alſo uſed, and with more effect. Succeſs ſoon crowned theſe experiments, and her joy was inexpreſſible that the reduction of the poſt was expedited, though at the expence of her property. Two days after this ſurrender, the Britiſh evacuated their poſt at Nelſon's ferry—blew up their fortifications—and deſtroyed a great part of their ſtores. The day following, fort Granby, near Friday's ferry, about thirty miles to the weſtward of fort Motte, ſurrendered by capitulation. Very advantageous terms were given by the aſſailants in conſequence of information that lord Rawdon was marching to its relief. This was a poſt of more conſequence than the others, and might have been better defended; but the offer of ſecurity to the baggage of the garriſon, in which was included an immenſe quantity of plunder, haſtened the ſurrender. For ſome time before it had been greatly haraſſed by colonel Taylor's regiment of militia, and had alſo been inveſted by general Sumpter. On the night of the fourteenth of May, lieutenant-colonel Lee erected a battery within ſix hundred yards of its out-works, on which

which he mounted a ſix-pounder. After the third diſcharge from this field-piece, major Maxwell capitulated. His force conſiſted of three hundred and fifty-two men, a great part of whom were royal militia. His works were a parapet round a houſe, defended by four baſtions, a foſſe and abbatis, with two pieces of artillery. In theſe ſeveral forts a conſiderable quantity of valuable ſtores fell into the poſſeſſion of the Americans. Lord Rawdon, having retreated towards Charleſton by the way of Nelſon's ferry, marched up the Santee to relieve major Maxwell; but, after he had advanced fourteen miles, he met the garriſon in the character of priſoners, on which he immediately retired. General Marion, with his brigade of militia, marched to George-Town, and began regular approaches againſt the Britiſh poſt in that place. On the firſt night after the Americans had broken ground, their adverſaries evacuated their works, and retreated to Charleſton. In a ſhort time after this evacuation one Manſon, an inhabitant of the country who had joined the Britiſh, appeared in an armed veſſel before George-Town, and demanded permiſſion for his men to land. This being refuſed by a ſmall party of American militia, he ſent a few of his men aſhore, under cover of his guns, and ſet fire to ſome of the houſes next to the water. He then directed his crew to fire at the burning houſes, in ſuch a direction as prevented the inhabitants from either extinguiſhing the flames or removing their property. Forty-two houſes, in this

this flouriſhing town, were, on this occaſion, reduced to aſhes.

In the rapid manner juſt related the Britiſh loſt ſix poſts, and abandoned all the north-eaſtern extremities of the ſtate. They ſtill retained poſſeſſion of Ninety-Six in South-Carolina, and Auguſta in Georgia; the reduction of theſe poſts was the next object with the Americans.

As the affairs in the upper country, on the Georgia and Carolina ſide of the river Savannah, were unconnected with the tranſactions of that part of the ſtate which adjoins North-Carolina, they now require a particular detail.

After the ſucceſſes of the royal army, the determined friends of America, in the upper country of Georgia, fled over the mountains, or over the river Savannah, to the more northerly ſtates. Great numbers, both there and on the Carolina ſide, ſubmitted to the conquerors. The inhabitants of the latter obtained very generous terms of capitulation, in conſequence of which they thought themſelves ſecured in their perſons and property; but the rapine, and impolitick conduct of the Britiſh in compelling the inhabitants to take up arms againſt their countrymen, very ſoon produced a thorough diſpoſition to revolt. As the Britiſh collected their force to purſue their intended northern conqueſts, they left this part of the country with a feeble garriſon. Colonel Clark,

Clark, a refugee from Georgia, took advantage of theſe incidents, and, at the head of a party of exiles, returned to Georgia in September 1780, and laid ſiege to Auguſta. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with a detachment from the Britiſh garriſon at Ninety-Six, marched to the relief of colonel Brown, commanding in Auguſta. By their joint exertions this premature inſurrection was ſoon quelled. Clark was obliged to flee, and thoſe of his adherents, who fell into the hands of colonel Brown, experienced the ſevereſt conſequences of their ill-timed enterprize. Oppoſition, though checked by this want of ſucceſs, was not extinguiſhed. Parties, arming themſelves againſt the Britiſh, daily increaſed in the extremities of the ſtate. This was done in different places, without any concert between the people, and often without any knowledge of each other's motions or intentions. Captain M'Koy collected a few bold adventurers, and took ſeveral poſitions on the banks of the Savannah, from which he frequently ſallied, and made prize of boats going up the river with ſupplies for the garriſon at Auguſta. After ſome captures of this kind, colonel Brown detached lieutenant Kemp, with twenty-five regulars, and twenty militiamen, to attack him. Captain M'Koy engaged them near Matthew's Bluff, killed the officer and fifteen privates, and diſperſed the remainder. Soon after this colonel Brown marched with a hundred Indians and the greateſt part of his whole force to drive him from his uſual ſtations. Colonel Harden,

this flouriſhing town, were, on this occaſion, reduced to aſhes.

In the rapid manner juſt related the Britiſh loſt ſix poſts, and abandoned all the north-eaſtern extremities of the ſtate. They ſtill retained poſſeſſion of Ninety-Six in South-Carolina, and Auguſta in Georgia; the reduction of theſe poſts was the next object with the Americans.

As the affairs in the upper country, on the Georgia and Carolina ſide of the river Savannah, were unconnected with the tranſactions of that part of the ſtate which adjoins North-Carolina, they now require a particular detail.

After the ſucceſſes of the royal army, the determined friends of America, in the upper country of Georgia, fled over the mountains, or over the river Savannah, to the more northerly ſtates. Great numbers, both there and on the Carolina ſide, ſubmitted to the conquerors. The inhabitants of the latter obtained very generous terms of capitulation, in conſequence of which they thought themſelves ſecured in their perſons and property; but the rapine, and impolitick conduct of the Britiſh in compelling the inhabitants to take up arms againſt their countrymen, very ſoon produced a thorough diſpoſition to revolt. As the Britiſh collected their force to purſue their intended northern conqueſts, they left this part of the country with a feeble garriſon. Colonel Clark,

Clark, a refugee from Georgia, took advantage of theſe incidents, and, at the head of a party of exiles, returned to Georgia in September 1780, and laid ſiege to Auguſta. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with a detachment from the Britiſh garriſon at Ninety-Six, marched to the relief of colonel Brown, commanding in Auguſta. By their joint exertions this premature inſurrection was ſoon quelled. Clark was obliged to flee, and thoſe of his adherents, who fell into the hands of colonel Brown, experienced the ſevereſt conſequences of their ill-timed enterprize. Oppoſition, though checked by this want of ſucceſs, was not extinguiſhed. Parties, arming themſelves againſt the Britiſh, daily increaſed in the extremities of the ſtate. This was done in different places, without any concert between the people, and often without any knowledge of each other's motions or intentions. Captain M'Koy collected a few bold adventurers, and took ſeveral poſitions on the banks of the Savannah, from which he frequently ſallied, and made prize of boats going up the river with ſupplies for the garriſon at Auguſta. After ſome captures of this kind, colonel Brown detached lieutenant Kemp, with twenty-five regulars, and twenty militiamen, to attack him. Captain M'Koy engaged them near Matthew's Bluff, killed the officer and fifteen privates, and diſperſed the remainder. Soon after this colonel Brown marched with a hundred Indians and the greateſt part of his whole force to drive him from his uſual ſtations. Colonel Harden,

Harden, with ſome of the adjacent American militia, who had lately revolted from their conquerors, joined M'Koy in this hour of diſtreſs; but their combined force was defeated, and, for a little time, their followers were diſperſed. After theſe advantages the royal conquerors laid waſte the ſettlements on the banks of Savannah river for forty miles up and down, and for ſeveral miles acroſs the country. They ſtripped the inhabitants, both men and women, of their clothes—turned them out of doors in the midſt of winter—and then ſet fire to their houſes. Notwithſtanding all theſe ſeverities, captain M'Koy ſoon returned to his old ſtation, on the banks of the Savannah, and had the addreſs to keep together a party ſufficient to intercept ſupplies going up the river to the Britiſh garriſon at Auguſta. I now return to trace the progreſs of the continental army.

AGREEABLY to a plan ſettled at Deep River, when the reſolution was formed of returning to South-Carolina, general Pickens and colonel Clark, with a body of militia, had for ſome time continued in the neighbourhood of Auguſta. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, the day after the ſurrender of fort Granby, began his march for that place, and in four days completed it. Fort Galphin, on the Carolina ſide of the Savannah river, with ſeventy men, a field-piece, and valuable ſtores, were ſurrendered to a detachment of lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, under captain Rudolph.

dolph. Lieutenant-colonel Grierſon, with ſome Britiſh militia, occupied a ſeparate out-work, dependent on the main fort at Auguſta. This poſt he relinquiſhed, with the view of throwing his force into fort Cornwallis, where colonel Brown commanded. In attempting his retreat he had above thirty of his men killed and wounded, and a greater number taken priſoners; but the colonel, with a few of his followers, were ſo fortunate as to eſcape. There was now but one object, againſt which the approaches were conducted with great judgment and rapidity, but no advantage could be gained over the vigilant and brave colonel Brown. In the courſe of the ſiege ſeveral batteries, two of which were within thirty yards of the parapet, were erected, which overlooked the fort. From theſe eminences the American riflemen ſhot into the inſide of the works with ſucceſs. The garriſon buried themſelves in a great meaſure under ground, and obſtinately refuſed to ſurrender till the neceſſity was ſo preſſing, that every man, who attempted to fire upon the beſiegers, was immediately ſhot down. On the fifth of June 1781 the fort, with about three hundred men, after a gallant defence, ſurrendered by capitulation.[ii] The Americans, during the ſiege, had about forty killed and wounded; among the former was the brave major Eaton. Lieutenant-colonel Grierſon, who was greatly obnoxious to the Americans, was, after his ſurrender, by ſome unſeen markſman, put to death.

A

[ii] See note XXXIV.

A reward of a hundred guineas was offered, but in vain, for the perpetrator of this perfidious deed. Lieutenant-colonel Brown would probably have ſhared the ſame fate, had it not been for the generoſity of his conquerors, who furniſhed him with an eſcort to the royal garriſon in Savannah. Though he had lately hanged thirteen American priſoners, and delivered to the Indians ſome of the citizens of the country, who ſuffered from their hands all the tortures which ſavage barbarity has contrived to add poignancy to the pains of death, yet his conquerors, no leſs generous than brave, ſaved him from the fate he had ſo much reaſon to expect. On his way to Savannah he had to paſs through the inhabitants whoſe houſes he had lately burned, and whoſe relations he had recently hanged. At Silver-Bluff mrs. M'Koy, having obtained leave of the American officer who commanded his ſafe-guard to ſpeak with him, addreſſed him in words to the following effect:

'COLONEL Brown, in the late day of your 'proſperity, I viſited your camp, and on my knees 'ſupplicated for the life of my ſon, but you were 'deaf to my entreaties. You hanged him, though 'a beardleſs youth, before my face. Theſe eyes 'have ſeen him ſcalped by the ſavages under 'your immediate command, and for no better 'reaſon than that his name was, M'Koy. As 'you are now priſoner to the leaders of my coun-'try, for the preſent I lay aſide all thoughts of 'revenge;

'revenge; but when you reſume your ſword, I 'will go five hundred miles, to demand ſatisfacti-'on, at the point of it, for the murder of my ſon.'

WHILE theſe operations were carrying on againſt the ſmall poſts, general Greene proceeded with the main army to Ninety-Six. This place, being of much more conſequence than the others, was defended by a conſiderable force. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger commanded in the garriſon. He, with the officers and men under his orders, conducted their defence with great bravery and judgment. Major Green, in particular, acquired diſtinguiſhed reputation by his ſpirited and judicious conduct in defending the redoubt againſt which the Americans made their principal efforts.

ON the left of the beſiegers was a work erected in the form of a ſtar; on the right was a ſtrong ſtockade-fort, with two block-houſes in it. The town, flanked by theſe two works, was alſo picquetted in with ſtrong picquets, and ſurrounded with a ditch, and a bank near the height of a common parapet. There were alſo ſeveral fluſhes in different parts of the town, and all the works communicated with each other by covered ways. On the twenty-third of May 1781, the main body of the American army encamped in a wood within half a mile of Ninety-Six, and, on that night, threw up two fluſhes within one hundred and fifty yards of the ſtar fort. The next morning the enemy made a ſally, and being ſupported

by the artillery and muſketry from the parapet of the ſtar redoubt, drove the beſiegers from them. The next night two ſtrong block batteries were erected at the diſtance of three hundred and fifty yards, which were opened in the morning. Another battery twenty feet high, erected within two hundred and twenty yards, was finiſhed in a few days, and ſoon afterwards another of the ſame height was erected within one hundred yards of the main fort. Approaches were gradually carried on at the ſame time againſt the redoubt on their left. Colonel Kozciuſco, a young gentleman of diſtinction from Poland, ſuperintended the operations of the beſiegers, and, by his aſſiduity and firmneſs, promoted the buſineſs with ſuch expedition, that, though the ground was exceſſively hard, and the ſituation extremely unfavourable, on the fourteenth of May a third parallel, within thirty yards of the ditch, was completed, and a rifle-battery, upwards of thirty feet high, erected at the ſame diſtance. On the ſeventeenth the abbatis was turned, and two trenches and a mine were extended, ſo as to be within ſix feet of the ditch. Few ſieges afford greater inſtances of perſeverance and intrepidity than were exhibited on this occaſion by the beſiegers and beſieged. Riflemen were employed on both ſides, who immediately levelled at every perſon who appeared in ſight, and very ſeldom miſſed their object. Various ſucceſs attended the conflicts between the ſeveral covering parties of the workmen, and thoſe who repeatedly ſallied from the garriſon.

On

On the third of June, twelve days after the commencement of this ſiege, a fleet arrived at Charleſton from Ireland, having on board the third, nineteenth and thirtieth regiments of his Britannick majeſty, a detachment from the guards, and a conſiderable body of recruits, the whole commanded by lieutenant-colonel Gould. Earl Cornwallis had given permiſſion to the commanders of the Britiſh forces in South-Carolina, to detain theſe reinforcements if they conceived that the ſervice of his Britannick majeſty required it; otherwiſe they were to be ſent forward to join his lordſhip. On the ſeventh of June 1781, lord Rawdon marched from Charleſton, with theſe newly arrived troops, for the relief of the garriſon at Ninety-Six. Great were the difficulties they had to encounter, in rapidly marching under the rage of a burning ſun through the whole extent of South-Carolina; but much greater was their aſtoniſhment at being informed, that their ſervices in the field were neceſſary to oppoſe the yet unſubdued rebels in the province. They had been amuſed with hopes, that nothing remained for them to do, but to ſit down as ſettlers on the forfeited lands of a conquered country.

The American army had advanced their approaches very near that critical point, after which farther reſiſtance on the part of the garriſon would have been temerity. At this intereſting moment intelligence was received, that lord Rawdon

don was near at hand, with a reinforcement of about two thouſand men. An American lady, who had lately married an officer then in the Britiſh garriſon of Ninety-Six, had been bribed by a large ſum of money to convey a letter to lieutenant-colonel Cruger with the welcome news of their approach. Attempts had been made to retard their march, but without the deſired effect. Their vicinity made it neceſſary, either to raiſe the ſiege, or attempt the reduction of the place by a coup-de-main. The laſt was agreed upon, and the neceſſary diſpoſitions made on the eighteenth of June. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion infantry, and captain Kirkwood's light-infantry, made the attack on the right. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the firſt Maryland and firſt Virginia regiments, were to have ſtormed the ſtar redoubt, the ditch of which was eight or nine feet deep, the parapet eleven or twelve feet high, and raiſed with ſand-bags near three feet more. The forlorn hopes were led on by lieutenants Duval and Sheldon, and were followed by a party with hooks and entrenching-tools to pull down the ſand-bags, and reduce the parapet. Had this been effected, the beſieged could not have annoyed the aſſailants without expoſing themſelves to the American markſmen. The artillery ſoon made ſufficient breaches on the fortified redoubt on the right for the infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Lee, to aſſault the garriſon. It was therefore abandoned, and they took poſſeſſion without loſs. On the left the utmoſt

utmoſt exertions of reſolution and fortitude were diſplayed, but failed of ſucceſs. The parties led on by Duval and Sheldon entered the ditch, and, though galled by an inceſſant fire, made every effort to get down the ſand-bags. Both theſe gallant officers were wounded, and not more than one in ſix of their party eſcaped. The near approach of lord Rawdon, and the uncertainty of final ſucceſs, induced general Greene to raiſe the ſiege and to retreat over the Saluda, after having loſt about one hundred and fifty men. [kk]

TRULY diſtreſſing was the ſituation of the American army. When in the graſp of victory, to be obliged to expoſe themſelves to the dangers of an hazardous aſſault, and afterwards to abandon the ſiege. When they were nearly maſters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity. After ſubduing the greateſt part of the force lately oppoſed to them, to be under the neceſſity of encountering ſtill greater reinforcements, when their remote ſituation precluded them from the hope of receiving a ſingle recruit. In this gloomy ſituation there were not wanting perſons who adviſed general Greene to leave the ſtate, and retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To arguments and ſuggeſtions of this kind he nobly replied, 'I will recover the coun-'try, or die in the attempt.' This diſtinguiſhed officer, whoſe genius was moſt vigorous in thoſe perilous extremities, when feeble minds abandon themſelves

[kk] See note XXXV.

themſelves to deſpair, adopted the only reſource now left him, of avoiding an engagement till the Britiſh force ſhould be divided.

Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches was very near Ninety-Six at the time of the aſſault, purſued general Greene as far as the Enoree; but finding it impoſſible to overtake the light retreating American army, and ſuppoſing that they had gone to North-Carolina or Virginia, his lordſhip conſoled himſelf with the imaginary advantage of having driven the rebels out of the country. On this occaſion general Pickens exhibited an illuſtrious inſtance of republican virtue. When the retreat was ordered, the general's family and private property was ſent off with the baggage of the army. This precaution, though wiſhed for by all, and juſtified on every principle of prudence, gave an alarm to many who either had not the ſame means of tranſportation, or who could not have attended to it without deſerting the American army. To encourage the men to ſtay in camp, and their families to remain on their plantations, general Pickens ordered his family and property back again to his houſe within twenty miles of the Britiſh garriſon. His example ſaved the country in the vicinity from depopulation, and the army under general Greene from ſuſtaining a great diminution of their numbers, by the deſertion of the militia to take care of their families.

The arrival of the Britiſh reinforcement, and the ſubſequent retreat from Ninety-Six, induced a general apprehenſion, that the Britiſh would ſoon re-eſtabliſh the poſts they had loſt to the ſouthward of Santee. The deſtination of the main army under lord Cornwallis, having been for ſome time known, the Britiſh commanders in South-Carolina had contracted their boundaries to that extent of country which is in a great meaſure encloſed by the Santee, the Congaree and the Ediſto. Within theſe rivers lord Rawdon intended to confine his future operations, and to canton his forces in the moſt eligible poſitions. His lordſhip, taking it for granted that the Americans had abandoned South-Carolina, reſolved, upon his return from purſuing general Greene, to divide his army, with the intention of fixing a detachment at the Congaree; but he ſoon found that his adverſaries were not diſpoſed to give up the prize for which they had ſo long contended. General Greene, on hearing that lord Rawdon had marched with a part of his force to Congaree, faced about to give him battle. Lord Rawdon, no leſs ſurprized than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after his arrival there, and retreated expeditiouſly to Orangeburgh. In this poſition he was ſecured on one ſide with a river, and on the other with ſtrong buildings little inferior to redoubts. General Greene purſued—encamped within five miles of this poſt—and offered him battle. His lordſhip,

lordſhip, ſecure in his ſtrong hold, would not venture out, and general Greene was too weak to attack him in his works with any proſpect of ſucceſs. In the courſe of theſe movements, on the ſecond of July, captain Eggleſton, of lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, fell in with forty-nine Britiſh horſe, near the Saluda, and took forty-eight of them priſoners. Whilſt the American army lay near Orangeburgh, advice was received that lieutenant-colonel Cruger had evacuated Ninety-Six, and was marching, with the troops of that garriſon, through the forks of Ediſto to join lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. As the north fork of Ediſto is not paſſable by an army without boats, for thirty miles above or below the Britiſh encampments, general Greene could not throw himſelf between with any proſpect of preventing the junction; he therefore retired to the high hills of Santee, and lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Cruger the day after made a junction. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by ſtriking at the poſts below it, the ſame manœuvre was now attempted to induce the Britiſh to leave Orangeburgh. With this view, on the day that the main American army retired from before that poſt, generals Sumpter and Marion, with their brigades, and the legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's Corner and Dorcheſter. They moved down by different roads, and in three days commenced their operations. Lieutenant-colonel Lee took all the waggons and waggon-horſes belonging to a convoy of proviſions.

Colonel

Colonel Wade Hampton charged a party of Britiſh dragoons within five miles of Charleſton. He alſo took fifty priſoners at Strawberry ferry, and burned four veſſels loaded with valuable ſtores for the Britiſh army. General Sumpter appeared before the garriſon at Biggin's church, which conſiſted of five hundred infantry and upwards of one hundred cavalry. Lieutenant-colonel Coates, who commanded there, after having repulſed the advanced party of general Sumpter, on the next evening, deſtroyed his ſtores and retreated towards Charleſton. He was cloſely purſued by lieutenant-colonel Lee with the legion, and lieutenant-colonel Hampton with the ſtate cavalry. The legion came up with them near Shubrick's plantation, took their rear guard, and all their baggage. Captain Armſtrong, of Lee's legion, at the head only of five men, charged through a conſiderable part of their lines, and eſcaped with the loſs of two men. General Sumpter and general Marion, after ſome hours, came up with the main body; but by this time the Britiſh had ſecured themſelves by taking an advantageous poſt in a range of houſes. An attack was however made, and continued with ſpirit till upwards of forty were killed or wounded by the fire from the houſes. The Britiſh loſt in theſe different engagements one hundred and forty priſoners, beſides ſeveral killed and wounded, all the baggage of the nineteenth regiment, and above one hundred horſes and ſeveral waggons.

THUS was the war carried on. While the Britiſh kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American general had the precaution to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were ſeparately and ſucceſsfully attacked. While they were in force in the upper country, light parties of Americans were annoying their ſmall poſts in the low country near Charleſton. The people ſoon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promiſed protection. The ſpirit of revolt became general, and the Britiſh intereſt daily declined.

SOON after theſe events lord Rawdon, driven from almoſt the whole of his poſts—baffled in all his ſchemes—and overwhelmed with vexation, in a fit of revenge, as ſhall hereafter be more fully related, made an oblation to his waning military fame, by executing the brave, the amiable and the worthy colonel Hayne. His lordſhip, immediately after this execution, ſailed for Europe, leaving his brother officers, in South-Carolina, objects of retaliation. In the courſe of his command, he aggravated the unavoidable calamities of war by many acts of ſeverity, which admit of no other apology than that they were ſuppoſed to be uſeful to the intereſt of his royal maſter.

ABOUT the ſame time that generals Sumpter and Marion were detached to the lower parts of the

the ſtate, the main American army retired to the high hills of Santee, and the Britiſh returned to their former ſtation near the junction of the Wateree and the Congaree. General Greene, in a little time, began to concert meaſures to force them a ſecond time from theſe poſts. Though the two armies were within fifteen miles of each other on a right line, yet, as two rivers intervened, and boats could not be procured, the American army was obliged to take a circuit of ſeventy miles with the view of more conveniently croſſing the Wateree and the Congaree. Soon after their croſſing theſe rivers, the continental army was joined by general Pickens, with a party of the Ninety-Six militia, and by the ſtate troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Henderſon. General Marion, with his brigade of militia, had been on an expedition towards Ponpon, to co-operate with colonel Harden, in oppoſing ſome detachments of the Britiſh who had taken poſt near Combahee ferry. From this poſition they had iſſued orders to the inhabitants to bring their rice to the neighbouring landings, in order that it might be carried to Charleſton. Colonel Harden exerted himſelf to fruſtrate their deſigns; but he ſoon found it neceſſary to call to his aid the militia of the other extremity of the ſtate. As the Britiſh diſperſed themſelves over the country on this buſineſs, a variety of ſkirmiſhes took place, in which they loſt upwards of a hundred of their number. On the termination of the expedition, general Marion, with his brigade,

joined

joined general Greene. The whole American force, thus collected, proceeded the next morning to attack the Britiſh army commanded by lieutenant-colonel Stewart. On the approach of the Americans the Britiſh had retired from the Congarees about forty miles nearer Charleſton, and taken poſt at the Eutaw Springs. General Greene drew up his little force, conſiſting of about two thouſand men, in two lines. The front conſiſted of the militia from North and South-Carolina, and was commanded by generals Marion and Pickens, and by colonel De Malmedy. The ſecond conſiſted of the continental troops from North-Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and was led on by general Sumner, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; lieutenant-colonel Henderſon, with the ſtate-troops, covered the left. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, with his cavalry, and captain Kirkwood, with the Delaware troops, formed a corps of reſerve. As the Americans advanced to the attack, they fell in with two advanced parties of the Britiſh three or four miles ahead of their main army. Theſe, being briſkly charged by the legion and ſtate-troops, ſoon retired. The front line continued to fire and advance on the Britiſh till the action became general, and till they, in their turn, were obliged to give way. They were well ſupported by general Sumner's North-Carolina brigade of continentals, though they had been under diſcipline only for a few

weeks,

weeks, and were chiefly compoſed of militiamen who had been transferred to the continental ſervice, to make reparation for their precipitate flight in former actions. In the hotteſt of the engagement, when great execution was doing on both ſides, colonel Williams, and lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, were ordered by general Greene to charge with trailed arms. Nothing could ſurpaſs the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occaſion—They ruſhed on, in good order, through a heavy cannonade, and a ſhower of muſketry, with ſuch unſhaken reſolution, that they bore down all before them. The ſtate-troops of South-Carolina were deprived of their gallant leader, lieutenant-colonel Henderſon, who was wounded very early in the action; but they were nevertheleſs boldly led on by the ſecond in command, lieutenant-colonel Hampton, to a very ſpirited and ſucceſsful charge, in which they took upwards of a hundred priſoners. Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington brought up the corps-de-reſerve on the left, and charged ſo briſkly with his cavalry, and captain Kirkwood's light-infantry, as gave them no time to rally or form. The Britiſh were cloſely purſued, and upwards of five hundred priſoners were taken. On their retreat they took their poſts in a ſtrong brick-houſe and in impenetrable ſhrubs and a picquetted garden. From theſe advantageous poſitions they renewed the action—Lieutenant-colonel Waſhington made every poſſible exertion to diſlodge them from the thickets,

thickets, but failed in the attempt—had his horſe ſhot under him—was wounded and taken priſoner. Four ſix-pounders were ordered up before the houſe from which the Britiſh were firing under cover. Theſe pieces finally fell into their hands, and the Americans retired out of the reach of their fire—They left a ſtrong picquet on the field of battle, and retreated to the neareſt water in their rear—In the evening of the next day, lieutenant-colonel Stewart deſtroyed a great quantity of his ſtores, abandoned the Eutaw, and moved towards Charleſton, leaving upwards of ſeventy of his wounded, and a thouſand ſtand of arms. He was purſued for ſeveral miles but without effect. Though major M'Arthur, with a large reinforcement, formed a junction with lieutenant-colonel Stewart fourteen miles below the Eutaw, yet the action was not renewed. The ſucceſs of the American army in the firſt part of this engagement ſpread ſuch an alarm, that the Britiſh burned their ſtores at Dorcheſter, and evacuated their poſts near Monk's Corner. The gates of the town were ſhut, and a number of negroes employed in felling trees acroſs the road on Charleſton Neck. The loſs of the Britiſh amounted to upwards of eleven hundred men. That of the Americans was about five hundred, in which number were ſixty officers.[11] Among the killed of general Greene's army, the brave lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the Virginia line, was the theme of univerſal lamentation. While with great

[11] See note XXXVI.

great firmneſs he was leading on his brigade to that charge which determined the fate of the day, he received a mortal wound. After his fall he enquired who gave way, and being informed the Britiſh were fleeing in all quarters, he added, 'I die contented,' and immediately expired.

CONGRESS honoured general Greene, for his deciſive conduct in this action, with a Britiſh ſtandard, and a golden medal; and they alſo voted their thanks to the different corps and their commanders. [mm]

AFTER the action at the Eutaws, the Americans retired to their former poſition on the high hills of Santee, and the Britiſh took poſt in the vicinity of Monk's Corner. While they lay there, a ſmall party of American cavalry, commanded by colonel Maham, took upwards of eighty priſoners within ſight of their main army. The Britiſh no more acted with their uſual vigour. On the ſlighteſt appearance of danger, they diſcovered a diſpoſition to flee ſcarcely inferior to what was exhibited the year before by the American militia.

THOUGH the army under general Greene was too weak to riſk another general action, yet it became neceſſary, in the cloſe of the year 1781, to move into the lower country, to cover the collection of proviſions for ſubſiſtence through the winter.

[mm] See note XXXVII.

winter. In about two months after the action at Eutaw, the main body of the American army was put in motion under colonel Williams. General Greene, with two hundred horſe, and two hundred infantry, advanced by private roads, and appeared near Dorcheſter ſo unexpectedly, and with ſuch confidence, as induced the Britiſh to believe that the whole army was cloſe in his rear. This manœuvre had the intended effect. They abandoned their out-poſts, and retired with their whole force to the Quarterhouſe on Charleſton Neck. By this means all the rice between Ediſto and Aſhley rivers was ſaved to the Americans.

The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the ſtate, ſeldom aimed at any thing more than to ſecure themſelves in Charleſton Neck, and to keep a communication with the ſea iſlands on which they had collected great numbers of cattle.

Though the Britiſh made no attempts to preſerve permanent poſts at a diſtance from Charleſton, after the cloſe of the year 1781, yet they made ſome excurſions with cavalry. Theſe were of too little conſequence to merit particular mention, being chiefly directed againſt ſome uncovered part of the ſtate, or ſome detached corps of militia. One of the moſt important was made in February 1782. While general Marion was attending

attending his duty as a member of the legiſlature at Jackſonborough, his brigade was ſurprized near the Santee, by a party of Britiſh horſe, commanded by that ſpirited and judicious officer lieutenant-colonel Thomſon. Major Benſon, an American officer highly eſteemed by his country, mr. Thomas Broughton, a young gentleman of a reſpectable family in South-Carolina, with ſome others, were killed. The remainder of the brigade, then in camp, was for ſome time diſperſed. In a few days the Britiſh retired within their lines, and the militia re-aſſembled.

THOUGH the battle of Eutaw may be conſidered as cloſing the national war in South-Carolina, yet after that period ſeveral ſmall enterprizes, greatly to the credit of individuals, were ſucceſsfully executed. The American army felt the elevation of conquerors, while the Britiſh, from the recollection of their former proweſs, and the exactneſs of their diſcipline, though reduced in their limits, could not bear to be inſulted. From among a variety of projects which were undertaken by detached parties of Americans, in the year 1782, the following is ſelected as meriting particular notice. On the nineteenth of March captain Rudolph, of Lee's legion, and lieutenant Smith, of the Virginia line, with twelve men, captured and burned the Britiſh galley Alligator, lying in Aſhley river, which mounted twelve guns, beſides a variety of ſwivels, and was manned with forty-three ſeamen. The Ameri-

cans had the addreſs to paſs themſelves for negroes who were coming to market with poultry. They were therefore permitted to come ſo near the galley that they boarded her with eaſe, while their adverſaries ſuſpected no danger. Three or four of the Britiſh were killed, and twenty-eight were brought off priſoners.

After general Greene moved from the high hills of Santee into the low country near Charleſton, a ſcene of inactivity ſucceeded different from the buſy operations of the late campaign. He was unable to attempt any thing againſt the Britiſh within their lines; and they declined riſking any general action without them.

While the American ſoldiers lay encamped in this inactive ſituation, their tattered rags were ſo completely worn out, that ſeven hundred of them were as naked as they were born, excepting a ſmall ſlip of cloth about their waiſts; and they were nearly as deſtitute of meat as of clothing. In this condition they lay for three months within four hours march of the Britiſh garriſon in Charleſton, which contained in it more regular troops than there were continentals in the American army. Though they had abundant reaſon to complain, yet, while they were every day marching, and almoſt every week fighting, they were in good health, good ſpirits, and good humour; but when their enemy was confined within their fortifications, and they were inactive,

they

they became ſickly and diſcontented, and a few began to be mutinous. Their long arrears of pay, the deficiency of their clothing, and their want of many comforts, were forgotten whilſt conſtant action employed their minds and bodies; but when an interruption of hoſtilities gave them leiſure to brood over their calamities, theſe evils were preſented to their imaginations in the moſt aggravated colours. A plan was ſeriouſly laid to deliver their gallant and victorious leader into the hands of the Britiſh; but the whole deſign was happily diſcovered and prevented from being carried into execution. To the honour of the continental army, it may with juſtice be added, that, notwithſtanding the preſſure of their many ſufferings, the whole number concerned in this plot did not exceed twelve.

In the courſe of the year 1782, John Mathews, eſquire, governor of South-Carolina, concerted meaſures with ſome of the citizens in Charleſton, who wiſhed to make their peace with their countrymen, for ſending out of the Britiſh lines neceſſary clothing for the almoſt naked continentals. When their diſtreſſes had nearly arrived to that point beyond which human nature can bear no more, mr. Joſhua Lockwood, under the direction of governor Mathews, brought out of Charleſton a large quantity of the articles which were moſt needed in the American camp. This ſeaſonable ſupply, though much ſhort of their due, quieted the minds of the ſuffering

ſoldiers.

ſoldiers. Tranquillity and good order were reſtored in the camp, and duty was cheerfully performed. It is impoſſible to do juſtice to that invincible fortitude which was diſplayed by both officers and men in the campaigns of 1780 and 1781. They encountered fatigues which, if particularly related, would appear almoſt incredible. They had ſcenes of ſuffering to bear up under, of which citizens, in the peaceable walks of private life, can form no adequate idea. Without pay, almoſt without clothing, and often with but a ſcanty portion of the plaineſt proviſions, they were expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the day, and the baleful vapours of the night. When ſinking under the fatigues of repeated ſucceſſions of forced marches, they were deſtitute of every comfort ſuitable to their ſituation. But to all theſe accumulated hardſhips the greateſt part of them ſubmitted with patience and magnanimity, which reflected honour on human nature, and which was never exceeded by any army in the world.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

Of the board of police, and other Britiſh eſtabliſhments. The animoſities between whigs and tories, and the diſtreſſes of the inhabitants. The execution of colonel Hayne. The treatment of priſoners. The violation of publick faith with the royaliſts. Of the aſſiſtance given to the Americans by the French army and navy. Of the operations in Virginia in 1781, and the reduction of lord Cornwallis. The re-eſtabliſhment of civil government. The Jackſonborough aſſembly. Confiſcation of eſtates. The operations in Georgia, and the evacuation of Savannah. Compacts with the Britiſh for ſecurity of property. Fall of lieutenant-colonel Laurens. The evacuation of Charleſton. Peace.

AFTER the reduction of Charleſton, on the twelfth of May 1780, followed the eſtabliſhment of a military government. A commandant was appointed to ſuperintend the affairs of the province. His powers were as undefined as thoſe of the American committees which took place in the early ſtages of the diſpute between Great-Britain and America, while the royal governments were ſuſpended, and before the popular eſtabliſhments were reduced to ſyſtem. To ſoften the rigid and forbidding aſpect of this new mode of adminiſtration, and as far as poſſible to temper it with the reſemblance of civil authority,

a board of police, for the ſummary determination of diſputes, was inſtituted. Under the direction of the honourable James Simpſon, intendant of the board, a table was drawn up, aſcertaining the depreciation of the paper currency at different periods, from which the friends of royal government, who had ſuſtained loſſes by paper payments, were induced to hope for reimburſement. This meaſure, though juſt in itſelf, was productive of unexpected and ſerious conſequences, fatal to the reviving fondneſs for the royal intereſt. Among the new-made Britiſh ſubjects, many were found who had been great gainers by the depreciation of the American bills of credit. Theſe, by the propoſition of a ſecond payment of their old debts, were filled with aſtoniſhment. From the circumſtances of the country, a compliance with it was, to the moſt opulent, extremely inconvenient, and to multitudes abſolutely impracticable. The paper currency, before the reduction of Charleſton, had ſupplanted the uſe of gold and ſilver, and baniſhed them from circulation. The ravages of war had deſolated the country, and deprived the inhabitants of the means of payment. Creditors became clamorous for their long arrears of intereſt, and debtors had either loſt their property or could not exchange it for one half of its value. Many ſuits were commenced, and great numbers ruined. The diſtreſſes of the reclaimed ſubjects, within the Britiſh lines, were in many inſtances greater than thoſe of their unſubdued country-

men

men who had forſaken all in the cauſe of liberty. After the Americans had recovered poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of the ſtate, it was preſumed that the proceedings of the board of police would be reverſed. This redoubled their difficulties. Creditors became more preſſing, and at the ſame time the doubtfulneſs of Britiſh titles induced a depreciation of real property not far behind that of the American paper currency. Fear and intereſt had brought many of their new ſubjects to the Britiſh ſtandard; but, in conſequence of the plans they adopted, in a little time both theſe powerful motives of human actions drew in an oppoſite direction. The Americans purſued a different line of conduct. In every period of the conteſt they ſacrificed the few creditors to the many debtors. The true whigs, who ſuffered on this ſcore, conſoled themſelves with the idea that their country's good required it, and that this was the price of their independence. A diſpoſition to ſuffer in behalf of the royal intereſt was not ſo viſible among the profeſſed adherents to Britiſh government. That immediate juſtice might be done to a few, great diſtreſs was brought on many, and the cauſe of his Britannick majeſty injured beyond reparation.

Several commandants were ſucceſſively appointed to ſuperintend the affairs of the town. Among theſe lieutenant-colonel Niſbet Balfour had the greateſt ſhare of adminiſtration. This gentleman, having raiſed himſelf in the army by his

his obſequious devotedneſs to the humours and pleaſures of ſir William Howe, diſplayed, in the exerciſe of this new office, all the frivolous ſelf-importance, and all the diſguſting inſolence, which are natural to little minds when puffed up by ſudden elevation, and employed in functions to which their abilities are not equal. By the ſubverſion of every trace of the popular government, without any proper civil eſtabliſhment in its place, he, with a few coadjutors, aſſumed and exerciſed legiſlative, judicial and executive powers over citizens in the ſame manner as over the common ſoldiery under their command. A ſeries of proclamations was iſſued by his authority, which militated as well againſt the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, as thoſe of juſtice, equity and humanity. For ſlight offences, and on partial and inſufficient information, citizens were confined by his orders, and that often without any trial.

The place allotted for ſecuring them, being the middle part of the cellar under the Exchange, was called the Provoſt. The dampneſs of this unwholeſome ſpot, together with the want of a fire-place, cauſed, among the unhappy ſufferers, ſome deaths, and much ſickneſs. Colonel Stark, colonel Beard, captain Moore, and mr. Pritchard, after being put in irons, were brought on foot to Charleſton by rapid marches from diſtant parts of the country. Theſe gentlemen, in conjunction with meſſrs. Peter Bocquet, Samuel Legaré,

Legaré, Jonathan Larrazin, Henry Peronneau and Daniel Stevens, were ſhut up in this place of confinement. Two young ladies, of moſt amiable characters and reſpectable connexions, on a groundleſs ſuſpicion of giving intelligence to the Americans, were, for a ſhort time, ſubjected to the ſame indignity. Theſe were crowded together with the ſick, labouring under contagious diſeaſes, with negroes, deſerters, and women of infamous characters, to the number of fifty-ſix, within narrow limits. So little regard was paid to decency, that the calls of nature could not be ſatisfied but in the open view of both ſexes promiſcuouſly collected in one apartment. The American ſtate-priſoner, and the Britiſh felon, ſhared the ſame fate. The former, though for the moſt part charged with nothing more than an active execution of the laws of the ſtate, or having ſpoken words diſreſpectful or injurious to the Britiſh officers or government, or of correſponding with the Americans, ſuffered indignities and diſtreſſes in common with thoſe who were accuſed of crimes tending to ſubvert the peace and exiſtence of ſociety.

Such was the adminiſtration of police by lieutenant-colonel Balfour. His conduct, on the whole, tended greatly to ſtrengthen the whig intereſt, and to diminiſh the number of royaliſts.

It has already been obſerved, that on the arrival of the Britiſh in South-Carolina, the inhabi-

tants were encouraged to ſtay on their plantations, with the proſpect of neutrality, and that, in a little time, theſe deluſive hopes vaniſhed, they being called upon to arm and embody in ſupport of royal government. Inſtead of drawing off the people gradually from an attachment to their late conſtitution, which had acquired ſtability by a duration of four years, the conquerors were ſo far miſtaken as to ſuppoſe that men could inſtantly be transformed from obſtinate revolters to zealous royaliſts. In a very ſhort time after their ſubmiſſion, they were called upon to promiſe that, by force of arms, they would oppoſe men who were their friends and neighbours, and by whoſe ſides they had lately fought. In effecting a revolution from the regal to the republican government, a very different policy was purſued. The popular leaders proceeded gradually. The common people were not ſhocked by any propoſitions too repugnant to their antient prejudices, or too remote from eſtabliſhed opinions. Though the leading-men in the counſels of America were far from being adepts in the maxims of refined policy, yet they were led, by a providential concurrence of circumſtances, to carry on their operations in a manner which contributed more to their ſucceſs than if every ſtep they took had been preſcribed by the moſt conſummate art. When they firſt began to oppoſe the claims of Great-Britain, they were far from intending that ſeparation which they afterwards effected, and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts

of

of that which at laſt they gloried in accompliſhing. Strange and undeſigned conſequences followed in the gradual ſucceſſion of cauſes and effects. In confuting the extravagant opinion of taxation without repreſentation, the Americans were inſenſibly led to enquire into the nature of civil liberty, and of their connexion with Great-Britain. From a denial of the Britiſh right of taxation, the way was opened for an inveſtigation of the reſtrictions on their commerce, and of the diſadvantages of their ſubordinate ſtation. A direct renunciation of the mother-country, in the firſt inſtance, would have drawn on the Americans the whole weight of her vengeance, and would probably have diſunited the coloniſts; but as this was far from the thoughts of the popular leaders, they continued to profeſs, and with ſincerity, great reſpect for their King and his government, till ſtep by ſtep they came to erect the ſtandard of independence. The ſentiments of a great majority of the people coincided with the reſolutions of their leaders. Nothing was recommended, but what was in uniſon with the prevailing opinions. A prudent reſpect was paid to antient prejudices, and nothing new was impoſed till the publick mind was gradually reconciled to its favourable reception. The firſt popular aſſemblies conducted their oppoſition on legal grounds, and in a manner compatible with their allegiance. It was the acknowledged right of the ſubjects to meet together, and petition for a redreſs of their grievances. Their committees

and

and congreſſes, their reſolutions of non-importation and non-exportation contained nothing unconſtitutional. The aſſociation, which was the firſt band of popular union in South-Carolina, was ſanctioned by no other penalty but that of with-holding all intercourſe with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to concur with the ſame meaſures. The republican government had exiſted upwards of two years. General Burgoyne's army had been captured, and the alliance with France ratified, before an oath of allegiance to the ſtate of South-Carolina was generally exacted from the inhabitants. During the whole war an abjuration of the King of Great-Britain was required of none but thoſe who were in the publick ſervice, with the exception of crown officers, and a few other ſuſpected characters.

It was not only by the violence that was done to the publick ſentiments, in arming the inhabitants againſt their countrymen, that the Britiſh rulers injured their intereſt. The circumſtances attending that meaſure were productive of diſtreſs to the new-made ſubjects, as well as of diſſervice to the cauſe of his Britannick majeſty. The officers who obtained commiſſions in the royal militia were, for the moſt part, men of unpopular character. They had been conſidered either as timid and luke-warm friends, or diſguiſed enemies, and were objects of contempt to the active ſpirited whigs. All commiſſions from the Americans being extinct, the officers who had lately

lately acted by their authority were inſtantly called upon to do duty as privates under men whom they lately commanded, and whom they generally deſpiſed. This revolution gave an opportunity for the gratification of private reſentments. The Britiſh militia-officers perſecuted individuals, whom they diſliked, with ſo much ſeverity, that many of them, who would have wiſhed to remain quiet at home, were driven in ſelf-defence to join American parties. After their ſecond revolt, they ſoon obtained followers from among their former friends and connexions who were in the ſame predicament with themſelves.

The diſtinction of Whig and Tory took its riſe in the year 1775. Both parties in the interior country were then embodied, and were obliged to impreſs proviſions for their reſpective ſupport. The advocates for Congreſs prevailing, they paid for articles conſumed in their camps; but as no funds were provided for diſcharging the expences incurred by the royaliſts, all that was conſumed by them was conſidered as a robbery. This laid the foundation of a piratical war between whigs and tories, which eventually was productive of great diſtreſs, and deluged the country with blood. In the interval between the inſurrection of 1775, and the year 1780, the whigs were occaſionally plundered by parties who had attempted inſurrections in favour of royal government. But all that was done prior to the ſurrender of Charleſton was trifling when compared

to

to what followed. After that event political hatred raged with uncommon fury, and the calamities of civil war desolated the state. The ties of nature were in several instances dissolved, and that reciprocal good-will and confidence, which hold mankind together in society, was in a great degree extinguished. Countrymen, neighbours, friends and brothers, took different sides, and ranged themselves under the opposing standards of the contending factions. In every little precinct, more especially in the interior parts of the state, King's-men and Congress-men were names of distinction. The passions on both sides were kept in perpetual agitation, and wrought up to a degree of fury which rendered individuals regardless, not only of the laws of war but of the principles of humanity. While the British had the ascendency, their partizans gave full scope to their interested and malicious passions. People of the worst characters emerged from their hiding-places in swamps—called themselves King's-men—and began to appropriate to their own use whatsoever came in their way. Every act of cruelty and injustice was sanctified, provided the actor called himself a friend to the King, and the sufferer was denominated a rebel. Of those who were well-disposed to the claims of America, there were few to be found who had not their houses and plantations repeatedly rifled. Under the sanction of subduing rebellion, private revenge was gratified. Many houses were burned, and many people inhumanly murdered.

Numbers

Numbers for a long time were obliged, either entirely to abandon their homes, or to ſleep in the woods and ſwamps. Rapine, outrage and murder, became ſo common, as to interrupt the free intercourſe between one place and another. That ſecurity and protection, which individuals expect by entering into civil ſociety, ceaſed almoſt totally. Matters remained in this ſituation for the greateſt part of a year after the ſurrender of Charleſton. When general Greene returned to South-Carolina, in the ſpring of 1781, every thing was reverſed. In a few weeks he diſpoſſeſſed the Britiſh of all their poſts in the upper country, and the exaſperated whigs once more had the ſuperiority. On their return to their homes, they generally found ſtarving families and deſolate plantations. To reimburſe their loſſes, and to gratify revenge, they, in their turn, began to plunder and to murder. The country was laid waſte, and private dwellings frequently ſtained with the blood of huſbands and fathers inhumanly ſhed in the preſence of their wives and children. About this time governor Rutledge returned to South-Carolina, and exerted his great abilities in re-eſtabliſhing order and ſecurity. To this end he iſſued a proclamation, ſtrictly forbidding all violence and rapine.[nn] Magiſtrates were appointed in every part of the ſtate recovered from the Britiſh. Civil government was reſtored. Property was ſecured. Confuſion and anarchy gave place to

[nn] See note xxxviii.

to order and regular government. The people were happy, and rejoiced in the revolution.

In the close of the year 1781, when the successes of the American army had confined the late conquerors to the vicinity of Charleston, a desperate band of tories adopted the infernal scheme of taking their last revenge, by carrying fire and sword into the settlements of the whig militia. To this end major William Cunningham, of the British militia, collected a party, and having furnished them with every thing necessary for laying waste the country, sallied from Charleston. He and his associates concealed themselves till they arrived in the back settlements, far in the rear of the American army, and there began to plunder, burn and murder. In the unsuspecting hour of sleep and domestick security, they entered the houses of the solitary farmers, and sacrificed to their revenge the obnoxious head of the family. Their cruelties induced some small parties to associate and arm in self-defence. Captain Turner and twenty men had, on these principles, taken post in a house, and defended themselves till their ammunition was nearly expended. After which they surrendered on receiving assurances that they should be treated as prisoners of war. Notwithstanding this solemn agreement, captain Turner and his party were put to instant death by Cunningham and the men under his command. Soon after this massacre the same party of tories attacked a number of

the

the American militia, in the diſtrict of Ninety-Six, commanded by colonel Hayes, and ſet fire to the houſe in which they had taken ſhelter. The only alternative left was either to be burned, or to ſurrender themſelves priſoners. The laſt being preferred, colonel Hayes and captain Daniel Williams were hung at once on the pole of a fodder-ſtack. This breaking, they both fell, on which major William Cunningham cut them into pieces with his own ſword, when, turning upon the others, he continued on them the operations of his ſavage barbarity, till the powers of nature being exhauſted, and his enfeebled limbs refuſing to adminiſter any longer to his inſatiate fury, he called upon his comrades to complete the dreadful work by killing whichſoever of the priſoners they pleaſed. They inſtantly put to death ſuch of them as they perſonally diſliked. Only two fell in action, but fourteen were deliberately cut to pieces after their ſurrender. Their names and rank were as follows: colonel Joſeph Hayes, captain Daniel Williams, lieutenant Chriſtopher Hardy, lieutenant John Neel, Clement Hancock, Joſeph Williams, Joſeph Irby, ſenior, Joſeph Irby, junior, John Milven, James Feris, John Cook, Greaf Irby, Benjamin Goodman, Yancy Saxon.

About the ſame time, and under the ſame influence, emiſſaries from the Britiſh induced the Cherokee Indians to commence hoſtilities. Early in the year 1781 general Greene had concluded

a treaty with them, by which they had engaged to obſerve a neutrality. This was attended with the beneficial effects of ſaving the frontier ſettlements both of North and South-Carolina from their incurſions, while the inhabitants were left at full liberty to concentrate their force againſt the army under the command of lord Cornwallis. When the co-operation of the Indians could be of the leaſt ſervice to the Britiſh forces, they were induced to break through their engagements of neutrality. They, with a number of diſguiſed whitemen, who called themſelves the King's friends, made an incurſion into the diſtrict of Ninety-Six, maſſacred ſome families, and burned ſeveral houſes. General Pickens collected a party of the American militia, and penetrated into the ſettlements of the Cherokees. This he accompliſhed in fourteen days, at the head of three hundred and ninety-four horſemen. In that ſhort ſpace he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a greater number priſoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions carried on againſt the Cherokees had been ſo rapid and deciſive as the preſent one. General Pickens did not expend three pounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians eſcaped, after having been once ſeen. On this occaſion a new and ſucceſsful mode of fighting the ſavages was introduced. Inſtead of firing, the American militia ruſhed forwards on horſeback, and charged with drawn ſwords. This

was

was the ſecond time during the American war that the Cherokee Indians had been chaſtiſed in their own ſettlements, in conſequence of ſuffering themſelves to be excited by Britiſh emiſſaries to commence hoſtilities againſt their white neighbours. They again ſued for peace, in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, and obtained it, after promiſing that, inſtead of liſtening to the advice of the royaliſts inſtigating them to war, they would deliver thoſe of them that viſited their ſettlements, on that errand, to the authority of the ſtate.

In conſequence of theſe civil wars between the whigs and tories—the incurſions of the ſavages—and the other calamities reſulting from the operations of the Britiſh and American armies, South-Carolina exhibited ſcenes of diſtreſs which were ſhocking to humanity. The ſingle diſtrict of Ninety-Six, which is only one of ſix diſtricts into which the ſtate of South-Carolina is divided, has been computed, by well-informed perſons reſiding therein, to contain within its limits fourteen hundred widows and orphans, made ſo by the war. Nor is it wonderful that the country was involved in ſuch accumulated diſtreſs. The American government was ſuſpended, and the Britiſh conquerors were careleſs of the civil rights of the inhabitants. They conducted as though interior order and police were ſcarcely objects of attention. The will of the ſtrongeſt was the law. Such was the general complexion of thoſe who called themſelves royaliſts,

iſts, that nothing could be expected from them, unreſtrained as they were by civil government, but outrages againſt the peace and order of ſociety. Though among the tories in the lower parts of South-Carolina there were gentlemen of honour, principle and humanity, yet, in the interior and back parts of the ſtate, a great proportion of them was an ignorant unprincipled banditti, to whom idleneſs, licentiouſneſs, and deeds of violence, were familiar. Horſe-thieves and others, whoſe crimes had exiled them from ſociety, attached themſelves to parties of the Britiſh. Encouraged by their example, and inſtigated by the love of plunder, they committed the moſt extenſive depredations. Under the cloak of attachment to the old government, they covered the baſeſt and moſt ſelfiſh purpoſes. The neceſſity which their indiſcriminate plundering impoſed on all good men of defending themſelves, did infinitely more damage to the royal cauſe than was compenſated by all the advantages reſulting from their friendſhip. They could ſcarcely ever be brought to the field of battle. They ſometimes furniſhed the Britiſh army with intelligence and proviſions, but on all other accounts their ſervices were of very little importance.

When the war was ended, though the pretence of cruſhing rebellion was no more a cloak to their robberies, the ſame depredations were continued, not only on the frontiers of South-Carolina

Carolina and Georgia, but in East-Florida. Mr. Tonyn, governor of the last-mentioned loyal province, granted a commission to a horse-thief, of the name of M'Girth, who, at the head of a party, had for several years harassed the inhabitants of South-Carolina and Georgia. By his frequent incursions he had amassed a large property, which he deposited in the vicinity of St. Augustine. After peace was proclaimed, he carried on the same practices against his former protectors in East-Florida, till they were obliged, in self-defence, to raise the royal militia of the province to oppose him. So dangerous is it to confer offices on men devoid of principle; for villians, when it is their interest, will turn against their employers.

As soon as the American army obtained repossession of the country, the inhabitants, after returning to their former allegiance, resolutely put all to the risk in support of independence. Though the British, in the career of their conquests, had inculcated the necessity and propriety of transferring allegiance from the vanquished to the victor, yet they treated with the utmost severity those unfortunate men, when in their power, who, having once accepted of British protection, acted on these very principles in afterwards re-joining their victorious countrymen.

Among the sufferers on this score, the illustrious colonel Hayne stands conspicuous. During the

the ſiege of Charleſton that gentleman ſerved his country in a corps of militia-horſe. After the capitulation, there being no American army in the ſtate, and the proſpect of one being both diſtant and uncertain, no alternative was left but either to abandon his family and property, or to ſurrender to the conquerors. This hard dilemma, together with well-founded information, that others in ſimilar circumſtances had been paroled to their plantations, weighed with colonel Hayne ſo far as to induce a concluſion, that, inſtead of waiting to be captured, it would be both more ſafe and more honourable to come within the Britiſh lines, and ſurrender himſelf a voluntary priſoner. He therefore repaired to Charleſton, and offered to bind himſelf by the honour of an American officer, to do nothing prejudicial to the Britiſh intereſt till he ſhould be exchanged. Reports which were made of his ſuperior abilities and influence, uniformly exerted in the American cauſe, operated with the conquerors to refuſe him a parole, though they were in the habit of daily granting that indulgence to others of the inhabitants. To his great aſtoniſhment he was told, 'that he muſt either become a Britiſh ſubject, or 'ſubmit to cloſe confinement.' To be arreſted and detained in the capital, was to himſelf not an intolerable evil; but to abandon his family both to the ravages of the ſmall-pox, a diſeaſe then raging in their neighbourhood, and which in a ſhort time after proved mortal to his wife and two of his children, and to the inſults and depredations

depredations of the royal army, was too much for a tender huſband and a fond parent. To acknowledge himſelf the ſubject of a king whoſe government he had from principle renounced, was repugnant to his feelings; but without this he was cut off from every proſpect of a return to his family. In this embarraſſing ſituation he waited on the author of this hiſtory, with a declaration to the following effect: 'If the Britiſh 'would grant me the indulgence which we, in 'the day of our power gave to their adherents, 'of removing my family and property, I would 'ſeek an aſylum in the remoteſt corner of the 'United States rather than ſubmit to their go-'vernment; but as they allow no other alter-'native than ſubmiſſion or confinement in the 'capital, at a diſtance from my wife and family, 'at a time when they are in the moſt preſſing need 'of my preſence and ſupport, I muſt for the pre-'ſent yield to the demands of the conquerors. 'I requeſt you to bear in mind, that, previous 'to my taking this ſtep, I declare, that it is con-'trary to my inclination, and forced on me by 'hard neceſſity. I never will bear arms againſt 'my country. My new maſters can require no 'ſervice of me but what is enjoined by the old 'militia-law of the province, which ſubſtitutes a 'fine in lieu of perſonal ſervice. That I will pay 'as the price of my protection. If my conduct 'ſhould be cenſured by my countrymen, I beg 'that you would remember this converſation, and 'bear witneſs for me, that I do not mean to de-'ſert the cauſe of America.'

In this ſtate of dureſs colonel Hayne ſubſcribed a declaration of his allegiance to the King of Great-Britain, but not without expreſsly objecting to the clauſe which required him, 'with his 'arms, to ſupport the royal government.' The commandant of the garriſon, brigadier-general Paterſon, and James Simpſon, eſquire, intendant of the Britiſh police, aſſured him, that this would never be required, and added farther, 'that 'when the regular forces could not defend the 'country without the aid of its inhabitants, it 'would be high time for the royal army to quit 'it.'

Having ſubmitted to their government, he readily obtained permiſſion to return to his family. In violation of the ſpecial condition under which he ſubſcribed the declaration of his allegiance, he was repeatedly called on to take arms againſt his countrymen, and was finally threatened with cloſe confinement in caſe of a farther refuſal. This open breach of contract, together with the inability of the late conquerors to give him that protection which was promiſed as a compenſation for his allegiance, the Americans having re-gained that part of the ſtate in which he reſided, induced him to conſider himſelf as releaſed from all engagements to the Britiſh commanders. The inhabitants of his neighbourhood, who had alſo revolted, ſubſcribed a petition to general Pickens, praying that colonel Hayne might be appointed to the command of their regiment. Having thus

reſumed

reſumed his arms, and the tide of conqueſt being fairly turned in the ſhort ſpace of thirteen months after the ſurrender of Charleſton, he ſent out, in the month of July 1781, a ſmall party to reconnoitre. They penetrated within ſeven miles of the capital—took general Williamſon priſoner, and retreated to the head-quarters of the regiment. This was the ſame Williamſon, who, having been an active and uſeful officer in the militia of South-Carolina, from the commencement of the war to the ſurrender of Charleſton in May 1780, became, ſoon after that event, a Britiſh ſubject. Such was the anxiety of the Britiſh commandant to reſcue general Williamſon, that he ordered out his whole cavalry on that buſineſs. Colonel Hayne unfortunately fell into their hands. Though he had conducted himſelf peaceably while under the Britiſh government, and had injured no man, yet, for having reſumed his arms, after accepting Britiſh protection, he was, when brought to Charleſton, confined in a loathſome provoſt. At firſt he was promiſed a trial, and had counſel prepared to juſtify his conduct by the laws of nations and uſages of war; but this was finally refuſed. Had he been conſidered as a Britiſh ſubject, he had an undoubted right to a trial—if as an American officer, to his parole; but in violation of every principle of the conſtitution, he was ordered for execution by the arbitrary mandate of lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Balfour.

THE royal lieutenant-governor Bull, and a great number of inhabitants, both loyaliſts and Americans, interceded for his life. The ladies of Charleſton generally ſigned a petition in his behalf, in which was introduced every delicate ſentiment that was likely to operate on the gallantry of officers, or the humanity of men. [oo] His children, accompanied by ſome near relations, were preſented on their bended knees, as humble ſuitors for their father's life. Such powerful interceſſions were made in his favour as touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many an hard eye; but lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Balfour remained inflexible.

AFTER his fate was fixed, he was repeatedly viſited by his friends, and converſed on various ſubjects with the fortitude of a man, a philoſopher and a chriſtian. He particularly lamented that, on principles of reciprocal retaliation, his execution would probably be an introduction to the ſhedding of much innocent blood. His children, who had loſt their other parent, were brought to him in the place of his confinement, and received from his lips the dying advice of an affectionate father. On the laſt evening of his life he told a friend, 'that he was no more 'alarmed at the thoughts of death than at any 'other occurrence which was neceſſary and una-'voidable.' He requeſted thoſe in whom the ſupreme power was veſted, to accommodate the mode

[oo] See note XXXIX.

mode of his death to his feelings as an officer; but this was refuſed.

On the morning of the fatal day, on receiving his ſummons to proceed to the place of execution, he delivered the annexed papers to his eldeſt ſon, a youth of about thirteen years of age—'Preſent,' ſaid he, 'theſe papers [pp] to mrs. Ed-'wards, with my requeſt that ſhe would forward 'them to her brother in Congreſs. You will 'next repair to the place of execution—receive 'my body, and ſee it decently interred among 'my forefathers.' They took a final leave. The colonel's arms were pinioned, and a guard placed round his perſon. The proceſſion began from the Exchange, in the forenoon of the fourth of Auguſt 1781. The ſtreets were crowded with thouſands of anxious ſpectators. He walked to the place of execution with ſuch decent firmneſs, compoſure and dignity, as to awaken the compaſſion of many, and to command reſpect from all. There was a majeſty in his ſufferings which rendered him ſuperior to the pangs of death. When the city barrier was paſt, and the inſtrument of his cataſtrophe appeared full in view, a faithful friend by his ſide obſerved to him, 'that 'he hoped he would exhibit an example of the 'manner in which an American can die.' He anſwered with the utmoſt tranquillity, 'I will 'endeavour to do ſo.' He aſcended the cart with a firm ſtep and ſerene aſpect. He enquired of the

[pp] See note XL.

the executioner, who was making an attempt to get up to pull the cap over his eyes, what he wanted? Upon being informed of his design, the colonel replied, 'I will save you that trouble,' and pulled it over himself. He was afterwards asked, whether he wished to say any thing, to which he answered, 'I will only take leave of 'my friends, and be ready.' He then affectionately shook hands with three gentlemen—recommended his children to their care—and gave the signal for the cart to move.

THUS fell, in the bloom of life, a brave officer, a worthy citizen, a just and upright man, furnishing an example of heroism in death that extorted a confession from his enemies, 'that, 'though he did not die in a good cause, he must 'at least have acted from a persuasion of its being 'so.'

FEW men stood higher in the estimation of their countrymen than the illustrious man whose exit has been just described. General Greene demanded from the British commanders their reasons for this execution. To which he received a written answer, signed by N. Balfour, acknowledging, 'that it took place by the joint 'order of lord Rawdon and himself, but in con-'sequence of the most express directions from 'lord Cornwallis, to put to death those who 'should be found in arms, after being at their 'own requests received as subjects, since the 'capitulation

'capitulation of Charleſton, and the clear con-
'queſt of the province in the ſummer of 1780.'[qq]

THE regular officers of the continental army preſented a petition to general Greene, requeſting that he would retaliate for the execution of colonel Hayne. By this they voluntarily ſubjected themſelves to all the conſequences to which, in caſe of capture, they would be expoſed.[rr] General Greene ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, threatening to make Britiſh officers the objects of retaliation.[ss] This encouraged the revolted inhabitants to continue in arms, and effaced every impreſſion that was expected from the fate of colonel Hayne. The Britiſh intereſt gained no permanent advantage, while pity and revenge ſharpened the ſwords of the countrymen and friends of the much beloved ſufferer.

HAD this execution taken place four or five months ſooner, the policy of the meaſure, as tending to prevent a revolt, would have been ſome apology for it; but after lord Rawdon was driven from almoſt the whole of his poſts in the country, and the people had generally reſumed their arms in favour of America, it had more the appearance of the revenge of a diſappointed ſavage, than of the political ſeverity of a conqueror. It was alſo in expreſs violation of a cartel which had been reciprocally ratified on the ſeventeenth

[qq] See note XLI. [rr] See note XLII.
[ss] See note XLIII.

ſeventeenth day of the preceding May. By that it was ſtipulated, that all the militia priſoners on one ſide ſhould be exchanged for the ſame order of men on the other. This was intended to give the inhabitants of the country a liberty of chooſing their ſides, without involving themſelves in the conſequences of treaſon for a transfer of their allegiance.

AFTER the Britiſh landed in Carolina in 1780, they confined ſome of their firſt priſoners in the vaults with the dead. When their ſucceſſes had multiplied the number of priſoners, they were crowded on board priſon-ſhips, where they ſuffered every inconvenience that could reſult from putrid air, and the want of the comforts of life. This was done not only to thoſe who ſurrendered at diſcretion, but alſo to the private ſoldiers who were entitled to the benefit of the capitulation of Charleſton. General Moultrie remonſtrated againſt this proceeding, in the following letter, addreſſed to lieutenant-colonel Niſbet Balfour, commandant of Charleſton.

'Chriſt-Church pariſh, Oct. 16, 1780.

'SIR,

'HOWEVER my letters may be thought by you 'to be wrote "in exceptionable and unwarrant-"able terms," yet I cannot be deterred from 'repreſenting matters of ſuch conſequence, as 'I am now conſtrained to do, in the ſtrongeſt 'manner. Though it is indifferent to me, whe-

'ther

'ther I write to you or to the commiſſary of 'priſoners on trifling applications; yet, when 'my duty calls upon me loudly to remonſtrate 'againſt a proceeding of ſo high a nature as a 'violation of a ſolemn capitulation, I then think 'it my duty to make my application as near the 'fountain-head as poſſible. I therefore, ſir, ad-'dreſs myſelf to you, to complain of a great 'breach of the capitulation in ſending the con-'tinental ſoldiers on board priſon-ſhips, (the truth 'of which I have not the leaſt doubt of) as part 'of the equivalent, for which the town was de-'livered up to ſir Henry Clinton, was, that the 'continental ſoldiers ſhould be kept in ſome con-'tiguous buildings in the town. This appears 'by the following extract from their excellencies 'ſir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot's let-'ter to major-general Lincoln, of the twelfth of 'May 1780, antecedent to the ſurrender.'

"SIR,

"WE have to requeſt you will propoſe ſome "proper contiguous buildings, in the town, for "the reſidence of the private priſoners of war, "not to be on parole; thoſe will be of courſe "ſuch as may in diſcretion be aſked."

'THE barracks and ſome adjacent houſes were 'then propoſed and agreed upon, as a proof of 'which the ſoldiers have been confined in thoſe 'buildings from the very inſtant of the ſurrender 'till this preſent removal, which I do moſt ſolemnly proteſt

'proteſt againſt, and complain of to you, ſir, 'as a direct violation of the third article of the 'capitulation, and demand that the continental 'ſoldiers be ordered back to the barracks and 'other houſes in which they were firſt confined.'

To this remonſtrance lieutenant-colonel Balfour returned a verbal anſwer, 'that he ſhould 'do as he pleaſed with the priſoners for the good 'of his majeſty's ſervice, and not as general 'Moultrie pleaſed.'

THE condition of theſe unfortunate men was truly deplorable. They were crowded on board the priſon-ſhips in ſuch numbers that ſeveral were obliged to ſtand up for want of room to lie down. The ſtate of South-Carolina could afford them no ſupply. Congreſs could not at that time command hard money for their relief. Wine, and ſuch like comforts, particularly neceſſary for the ſick in ſouthern climates, could not be obtained from the Britiſh hoſpitals.

UPWARDS of eight hundred of theſe brave men, nearly one third of the whole, exhauſted by a variety of ſufferings, [tt] expired in the ſhort ſpace of thirteen months' captivity. When the general exchange took place in June 1781, out of nineteen hundred taken at the ſurrender of Charleſton, on the twelfth of May 1780, and ſeveral hundreds more taken afterwards at Camden

[tt] See note XLIV.

den and at Fiſhing Creek, on the ſixteenth and eighteenth of Auguſt of the ſame year, there were only ſeven hundred and forty reſtored to the ſervice of their country. It was not by deaths alone that the Americans were deprived of their ſoldiers. Lord Charles-Greville Montague enliſted five hundred and thirty of them in the Britiſh ſervice. His lordſhip, before the revolution, had been governor of the province of South-Carolina, and had frequently declared himſelf to be warmly attached to the liberties of America. In the early ſtage of the war he had gone privately to Paris, and offered his ſervice to doctor Franklin, to take a command in the army of Congreſs. The diſtreſſed continental ſoldiers were induced to accept the offers of lord Charles-Greville Montague in preference to the horrors of a priſon-ſhip, by the ſpecious promiſe that they ſhould be employed in the Weſt-Indies, and not againſt their countrymen in the United States. His lordſhip, after completing his regiment, offered the command of it to brigadier-general Moultrie, the ſenior officer of the priſoners of war belonging to the continental army. To induce him to accept of this command, and to enter the Britiſh ſervice, his lordſhip wrote him the following letter;

'March 11, 1781.

'SIR,

'A SINCERE wiſh to promote what may be to 'your advantage, induces me now to write. The

'freedom with which we have often converſed, 'makes me hope you will not take amiſs what 'I ſay.

'My own principles reſpecting the commence-'ment of this unfortunate war are well known 'to you, of courſe you can only conceive what 'I mention is out of friendſhip. You have now 'fought bravely in the cauſe of your country for 'many years, and, in my opinion, fulfilled the 'duty every individual owes it: you have had 'your ſhare of hardſhips and difficulties; and, 'if the conteſt is ſtill to be continued, younger 'hands ſhould now take the toil from you. You 'have now a fair opening of quitting that ſervice 'with honour and reputation to yourſelf by go-'ing to Jamaica with me. The world will rea-'dily attribute it to the known friendſhip that has 'ſubſiſted between us, and, by quitting this coun-'try for a ſhort time, you would avoid any diſ-'agreeable converſations, and might return at 'your own leiſure to take poſſeſſion of your 'eſtates for yourſelf and family. The regiment 'I am going with I am to command, the only 'proof I can give you of my ſincerity is, that 'I will quit that command to you with pleaſure, 'and ſerve under you. I earneſtly wiſh I could 'be the inſtrument to effect what I propoſe, as I 'think it would be a great means towards pro-'moting that reconciliation we all wiſh for. A 'thouſand circumſtances concur to make this a 'proper period for you to embrace: our old

'acquaintance,

'acquaintance, my having been formerly go-
'vernor in this province, &c. &c. the intereſt I
'have with the preſent commander.

'I GIVE you my honour what I write is en-
'tirely unknown to the commandant or to any
'one elſe, and ſo ſhall your anſwer be if you
'favour me with one. Think well of me.

'Yours ſincerely,

(Signed) 'CHA. MONTAGUE.

'To brigadier-general Moultrie.'

To this brigadier-general Moultrie returned the following anſwer:

'Haddrell's Point, March 12, 1781.

'MY LORD,

'I RECEIVED yours this morning. I thank you
'for your wiſh to promote my advantage, but am
'much ſurprized at your propoſition. I flattered
'myſelf I ſtood in a more favourable light with
'you. I ſhall write with the ſame freedom with
'which we uſed to converſe, and doubt not you
'will receive it with the ſame candour. I have
'often heard you expreſs your ſentiments reſpect-
'ing this unfortunate war, when you thought
'the Americans injured; but am now aſtoniſhed
'to find you taking an active part againſt them,
'though not fighting particularly on the conti-
'nent; yet the ſeducing their ſoldiers away, to
'enliſt in the Britiſh ſervice, is nearly ſimilar.

'MY

'My lord, you are pleaſed to compliment me 'with having fought bravely in my country's 'cauſe for many years, and in your opinion ful- 'filled the duty every individual owes to it: but 'I differ widely with you in thinking that I 'have diſcharged my duty to my country, while 'it is ſtill deluged with blood and over-run by 'the Britiſh troops, who exerciſe the moſt ſa- 'vage cruelties. When I entered into this con- 'teſt I did it with the moſt mature deliberation, 'and with a determined reſolution to riſk my life 'and fortune in the cauſe. The hardſhips I have 'gone through I look back upon with the greateſt 'pleaſure and honour to myſelf. I ſhall continue 'to go on as I have begun, that my example 'may encourage the youths of America to ſtand 'forth in defence of their rights and liberties. 'You call upon me now, and tell me I have a 'fair opening of quitting that ſervice with ho- 'nour and reputation to myſelf, by going with 'you to Jamaica. Good God! is it poſſible that 'ſuch an idea could ariſe in the breaſt of a man 'of honour. I am ſorry you ſhould imagine I 'have ſo little regard for my own reputation, as 'to liſten to ſuch diſhonourable propoſals. Would 'you wiſh to have that man, whom you have ho- 'noured with your friendſhip, to play the traitor? 'ſurely not. You ſay, by quitting this country 'for a ſhort time, I might avoid diſagreeable 'converſations, and might return at my own lei- 'ſure and take poſſeſſion of my eſtates for myſelf 'and family; but you have forgot to tell me how

'I

'I am to get rid of the feelings of an injured 'honeſt heart, and where to hide myſelf from 'myſelf. Could I be guilty of ſo much baſeneſs, 'I ſhould hate myſelf and ſhun mankind. This 'would be a fatal exchange from my preſent ſitu-'ation, with an eaſy and approving conſcience, of 'having done my duty, and conducted myſelf as 'a man of honour.

'My lord, I am ſorry to obſerve, that I feel 'your friendſhip much abated, or you would not 'endeavour to prevail upon me to act ſo baſe a 'part. You earneſtly wiſh you could bring it 'about, as you think it will be the means of 'bringing about that reconciliation we all wiſh 'for. I wiſh for a reconciliation as much as any 'man, but only upon honourable terms. The 're-poſſeſſing my eſtates, the offer of the com-'mand of your regiment, and the honour you 'propoſe of ſerving under me, are paltry conſi-'derations to the loſs of my reputation. No not 'the fee-ſimple of that valuable iſland of Jamaica 'ſhould induce me to part with my integrity.

'My lord, as you have made one propoſal, 'give me leave to make another, which will be 'more honourable to us both. As you have an 'intereſt with your commanders, I would have 'you propoſe the withdrawing the Britiſh troops 'from the continent of America, allow the in-'dependence, and propoſe a peace. This being 'done, I will uſe my intereſt with my command-

'ers

'ers to accept of the terms, and allow Great-
'Britain a free trade with America.

'My lord, I could make one more propoſal;
'but my ſituation as a priſoner circumſcribes me
'within certain bounds. I muſt therefore con-
'clude with allowing you the free liberty to make
'what uſe of this you may think proper. Think
'better of me.

'I am, my lord,
'your lordſhip's
'moſt obedient humble ſervant,
'WILLIAM MOULTRIE, B. G.
'To lord Charles Montague.'

THE continental officers taken at the ſurrender of Charleſton were confined to Haddrell's Point and the vicinity. Far from their friends, and deſtitute of hard money, they were reduced to the greateſt ſtraits. Such were the difficulties and ſevere reſtrictions impoſed on this band of patriots, that many of them, though born in affluence and habituated to attendance, were compelled to do not only the moſt menial offices for themſelves, but could ſcarcely procure the plaineſt neceſſaries of life. During a captivity of thirteen months, they received no more from their country than nine days pay. Theſe hardſhips were not alleviated by thoſe civilities from their conquerors which among modern refined nations have abated the horrors of war. They were debarred the liberty of fiſhing for their ſupport,

port, though their great leiſure and many wants made it an object not only as an amuſement, but as a mean of ſupplying their neceſſities. After bearing all theſe evils with great fortitude, they were informed, in the month of March 1781, by lieutenant-colonel Balfour, that, by poſitive orders from earl Cornwallis, he was to ſend them to ſome one of the Weſt-India iſlands. This was ſo directly oppoſed to the letter and ſpirit of the capitulation of Charleſton, that general Moultrie was induced once more to prefer a remonſtrance. This addreſs, though ſupported with manly ſpirit, and directed by decency, met with little regard. Preparations were made for the execution of the mandate; but a general exchange of priſoners, in the ſouthern department, took place in a few weeks, which releaſed the priſoners on both ſides from captivity.

THE citizens of the town, who adhered to their paroles, were treated with great ſeverity. Though they were not allowed rations, yet they were debarred from trade, and from exerciſing any profeſſion of whatever kind for a competent ſubſiſtence. Upon the application of an individual for rations, the town major, Charles Fraſer, iſſued the following order: 'All difficulties with 'regard to proviſions ought to have been conſi-'dered before people entered into rebellion, or, 'in the courſe of theſe twelve months, while 'they have been allowed to walk about on parole. 'All militia priſoners and others on parole, are

'to

'to keep their paroles and to remain in their 'houſes.' The loyal ſubjects were precluded from employing them in the moſt ſervile labour, by an order of lieutenant-colonel Niſbet Balfour, iſſued on the twenty-fifth of March 1781, in the following words: 'Whereas divers perſons who are 'priſoners on parole, in Charleſton, do exerciſe 'their profeſſions, trades and occupations, and 'avail themſelves of the emoluments and advan-'tages incident thereto, which ſhould be enjoyed 'by thoſe only who have returned to their allegi-'ance, and are deſirous of ſupporting his majeſ-'ty's government, which affords them protection. 'For prevention whereof in future, it is ordered, 'that no perſon, now a priſoner on parole in 'Charleſton, ſhall have the liberty of exerciſing 'any profeſſion, trade, mechanick art, buſineſs 'or occupation. And his majeſty's ſubjects are 'hereby ſtrictly enjoined and required not to 'employ ſuch perſon or perſons on any pretence.'

'By order of the commandant,

'HENRY BARRY, ſecretary, and

'deputy adjutant-general.'

THOUGH by the capitulation of Charleſton, in May 1780, the inhabitants were entitled to their paroles, and a reſidence on their eſtates with their families; yet in May 1781 upwards of one hundred of them were confined to priſon-ſhips. The conquerors did not undertake to juſtify this ſtep from any ſuppoſed breach of parole. They affected to hold the priſoners in this ſtate of dureſs

as

as hoſtages, to ſecure good treatment for thoſe of the loyaliſts who had been captured by the Americans. The gentlemen who were confined on this occaſion ſubmitted to their fate with great magnanimity. Inſtead of repining at their ſituation, they only regretted, 'if it ſhould fall to 'the lot of any or all of them to be made victims, 'agreeably to the menaces of lieutenant-colonel 'Balfour, that their blood could not be diſpoſed 'of more to the advantage of the glorious cauſe 'in which they had engaged.'[vv]

THOUGH the property of the priſoners was confeſſedly ſecured by the capitulation, as part of the equivalent for the ſurrender of Charleſton, yet they had the mortification to ſee it repeatedly taken from them without any redreſs.

As the war was carried on, not to gain a conteſted point from an independent power, but to annihilate the aſſumed independence of the ſtate, and to reduce it to its former provincial ſubjection, the conquerors ridiculed the idea of obſerving the capitulation with citizens. They conſidered that meaſure as the expedient of a day, only proper at the ſurrender to prevent the effuſion of blood, but no longer ſo when their arms were triumphant in the remote extremities of the ſtate. Indulgences ſhewn to priſoners were viewed as favours derived from the humanity of conquerors, and not as rights founded on a capitu-

[vv] See note XLV.

lation. Perſons who remained in the character of priſoners, and claimed under that ſolemn agreement, were conſidered as obſtinate rebels, who meant to thwart the views of the royal army. While they wiſhed to be regarded as the members of an independent ſtate, they were looked upon as vanquiſhed rebels who owed their lives to Britiſh clemency. In this confuſion of ſentiments, to reconcile contradictory claims required uncommon addreſs. The pride of conquerors, highly eſtimating their own moderation, and the pride of priſoners, conſidering themſelves as independent freemen, entitled to reſpect for their firmneſs and patriotiſm, made the former trample on the latter, and the latter deſpiſe the former. It would have been more for Britiſh honour, either to have refuſed a capitulation, or to have obſerved it better. Their capitulating one day with the inhabitants as the members of a diſtinct nation, and ſoon after treating them as their own vanquiſhed rebellious ſubjects, made a confuſion in their politicks, and contributed not a little to the utter ruin of their cauſe.

It has been already mentioned, that, in May 1781, a general exchange of priſoners was agreed to, in which the militia on both ſides were reſpectively exchanged for each other. Notwithſtanding every difficulty, a conſiderable number of the inhabitants had perſeveringly refuſed to become Britiſh ſubjects. Theſe being exchanged, were delivered at the American poſts in Virginia

ginia and Pennſylvania. Great were the exultations of the ſuffering friends of independence, at the proſpect of their being releaſed from confinement, and reſtored to activity in their country's cauſe; but theſe pleaſing proſpects were obſcured by the diſtreſſes brought on their families by this otherwiſe deſirable event. On the twenty-fifth of June 1781 the Britiſh commandant, lieutenant-colonel Balfour, iſſued the following order:

'As many perſons lately exchanged as priſoners of war, and others who have long choſe to reſide in the colonies now in rebellion, have, notwithſtanding ſuch their abſence, wives and families ſtill remaining here, the weight of which on all accounts it is equally impolitick as inconſiſtent ſhould longer be ſuffered to reſt on the government eſtabliſhed here and the reſources of it:

'The commandant is therefore pleaſed to direct, that all ſuch women, children and others, as above deſcribed, ſhould quit this town and province on or before the firſt day of Auguſt next enſuing; of which regulation all ſuch perſons are hereby ordered to take notice, and to remove themſelves accordingly.'

The gentlemen who had been, from motives of policy, removed from Charleſton to St. Auguſtine, as has been already related, obtained their releaſe

releaſe by this general exchange, and were delivered at the port of Philadelphia. Though their wives and children who had been left in Charleſton were ordered the ſame way, and at the ſame time, lieutenant-colonel Balfour gave poſitive orders that they ſhould not be ſuffered to touch at Charleſton. Here commenced a ſcene of diſtreſs. More than a thouſand perſons were exiled from their homes, and thrown on the charity of ſtrangers for their ſupport. Huſbands and wives, parents and children, ſome of whom had been for ſeveral months ſeparated from each other, were not permitted to ſooth their common diſtreſs by being together; but were doomed to have their firſt interview among ſtrangers in a diſtant land. In retaliation for this conduct, governor Rutledge ordered the brigadiers of militia to drive, within the Britiſh lines, the families of thoſe who adhered to the royal cauſe. The wives and children of thoſe inhabitants who, to avoid the reſentments of their countrymen, had retreated with the retreating Britiſh, were compelled to take ſhelter within their poſts. In exchange for their comfortable farms in the country, many of them were reduced in a little time to the neceſſity of living in clay huts in the vicinity of Charleſton. In this forlorn ſituation numbers of them, deſtitute of the comforts of life, and overwhelmed with diſeaſes, ſpeedily periſhed. The exiled Americans received generous treatment from ſome individuals, and alſo from the bounty of Congreſs; but, notwithſtanding this liberality, they

ſuffered

ſuffered many of the evils which reſult from a want of friends and a want of money. Several of the perſons thus exchanged, and ſent to the northern ſtates, were owners of landed property in Charleſton. Though by the capitulation they had an undoubted right to diſpoſe of this for their own advantage, yet they were debarred that liberty by the following order, iſſued on the eleventh of July 1781:

'The commandant is pleaſed to direct, that 'no perſon, living under the rebel government, 'ſhall have liberty, or grant power to others for 'ſo doing, to let or leaſe any houſe within this 'town without a ſpecial licenſe for ſo doing, as 'it is intended to take all ſuch houſes as may be 'wanted for the publick ſervice, paying to the 'owners of thoſe ſecured by the capitulation a 'reaſonable rent for the ſame, as by this means 'government will be enabled to re-inſtate its 'firm friends in poſſeſſion of their own houſes 'within a ſhort ſpace of time.'

(Signed) 'James Fraser, acting 'barrackmaſter.'

In conſequence of this mandate, the houſes of thoſe who adhered to the cauſe of America were, in violation of publick faith, taken out of their hands, and there was ſcarce an inſtance of compenſation being allowed them for this ſeizure of their property.

The

THE partial re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government in South-Carolina was, as has been ſtated, the ſource of accumulated evils to the ſteady friends of independence; but they were not the only ſufferers. The calamities of the years 1780 and 1781 operated extenſively. There was ſcarcely an inhabitant of the ſtate, however obſcure in character or remote in ſituation, whether he remained firm to one party: or changed with the times, who did not in ſome degree partake of the general diſtreſs. The adherents to royal government were often treated by the Britiſh conquerors with neglect and contempt—frequently ſuffered in their property, and had many grievances unredreſſed. Their moſt eſſential intereſts were in every ſtage of the war, and eſpecially at the evacuation of Charleſton, and the general treaty of peace, ſacrificed to political neceſſity. They had the peculiar misfortune of ſuffering from the repeated violation of publick faith ſucceſſively pledged for their ſecurity. Immediately after the ſurrender of Charleſton they were aſſured by proclamation, 'that they ſhould meet 'with effectual countenance, protection and 'ſupport.' Notwithſtanding theſe bold promiſes, general Clinton immediately withdrew the greateſt part of the conquering army; and lord Cornwallis, after marching through the ſtate, proceeded to his northern operations with ſo great a part of the remainder, as left the country without a ſufficient defence. After general Greene returned to the ſtate, the ſame deluſion was renewed by

by proclamation, dated at Monk's Corner on May twenty-fourth, 1781, in which lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Balfour gave 'aſſurances of 'every ſupport to the loyal inhabitants, that they 'would ſhortly re-inſtate them in the full and 'peaceable poſſeſſion of their property from 'which they had been driven.' [uu] But the greateſt deception took place in December 1781, and the following months. Though the defence of the country was abandoned, and the royal army durſt not riſk an action without their lines, yet general Leſlie, who had been about that time appointed to command the Britiſh troops in Carolina, under all theſe forbidding circumſtances, iſſued his proclamation, aſſuring 'his majeſty's 'loyal ſubjects in the province, that they might 'rely on ſpeedy and effectual ſupport being given 'them by the exertions of the forces under his 'command; and that, in every event and ſituati-'on, their intereſts and ſecurity ſhould be conſi-'dered as inſeparably connected with thoſe of 'his majeſty's troops.' This proclamation was continued while the legiſlature of the ſtate, convened at Jackſonborough, was confiſcating their property. Such at that time was the reduced ſtate of the ſouthern army, and of the finances of America, that great indulgences in favour of Britiſh ſubjects could have been obtained as an equivalent for a voluntary withdrawing of the royal forces. After an act of aſſembly had baniſhed and beggared the active friends of the old government,

[uu] See note XLVI.

government, that event, in a few months, took place without ſecuring any one advantage to the deceived royaliſts.

THE meaſures that ultimately occaſioned the evacuation of Charleſton, and a termination of the war, took their riſe at a diſtant period, and were principally effected in the ſtate of Virginia. To underſtand them in a proper connexion, a review of the exertions of the court of France, in the years 1780 and 1781, in favour of the United States, and of the plans adopted by the Britiſh for their ſubjugation in the ſame years, together with the general ſtate of American affairs in that period, becomes neceſſary.

THE fall of Charleſton in May 1780, and the complete rout of the American army in the Auguſt following, laid the foundation of a vigorous enterprize, which in two years terminated a war that might otherwiſe have laſted much longer. The Britiſh ſucceſſes to the ſouthward, after they had changed the theatre of the war from north to ſouth, gave a ſerious alarm to the friends of independence. In the cloſe of the year 1780, the United States appeared to be in nearly the ſame ſituation as they were at the cloſe of the year 1776. What the battle of Trenton and Princeton effected in the north, in the beginning of the war, bears a ſtrong analogy to the conſequences of the battles of King's Mountain and of the Cowpens in the ſouth, in its laſt period; but

but with this difference: in the firſt criſis of American affairs the ſpirits of the people were high, and the paper currency had credit equal to gold and ſilver: in the laſt, the inhabitants of the United States were thoroughly tired of the war, and their bills of credit would ſcarcely defray the expence of printing them. In the year 1776 America had no aſſurance of foreign aid; but in the year 1780 ſhe had the advantage of a connexion with the greateſt monarch in Europe, bound by treaty to eſtabliſh her independence. In the laſt low ſtate of American affairs Congreſs looked up to their faithful ally, Louis the ſixteenth of France. Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens was appointed their ſpecial miniſter, and ordered to repair to the court of Verſailles, and there to urge the neceſſity of ſpeedy and effectual ſuccour, and, in particular, to ſolicit for a loan of ſpecie, and a co-operation of a French fleet in attempting ſome important enterprize againſt the common enemy. So much addreſs was diſplayed in accompliſhing the object of this miſſion, that it is hard to tell which we ought to admire moſt, the gallant officer or the able negotiator.

The unrivalled reputation which lieutenant-colonel Laurens had acquired in the field, ſeemed, if poſſible, to be eclipſed by the ſuperior eclat with which he terminated his ſhort but important embaſſy. Within ſix months from his departure he returned to America, all the objects of his miſſion being fully obtained. On his ar-

rival on the continent, he inſtantly repaired to Philadelphia, and gave an account of his negotiation. In three days he finiſhed his buſineſs with Congreſs, and immediately after re-joined the American army. Though he was entitled to a generous ſalary allowed by Congreſs to their miniſters at foreign courts, he declined receiving any thing more than his bare expences. On the application of Congreſs, in this criſis of their affairs, to their illuſtrious ally, every thing aſked for, and even more, was with great liberality cheerfully granted. His moſt chriſtian majeſty generouſly gave them a ſubſidy of ſix millions of livres, and became their ſecurity for ten millions more borrowed for their uſe in the United Netherlands. A naval co-operation was promiſed, and a conjunct expedition againſt the common foe was projected. It was not only by theſe liberal grants of money and of ſhips that the King of France aided his American allies in their hour of diſtreſs; in the year 1780, as has been related, five thouſand five hundred French troops had landed in Rhode-Iſland, to co-operate with the armies of Congreſs. The diſpoſition to ſupport the American revolution was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it animated the body of the French nation. As ſoon as it was known that a reſolution was adopted to ſend out troops to the United States, the young French nobility diſcovered the moſt ardent zeal to be employed on that ſervice. Court favour was ſcarcely ever ſolicited with more earneſtneſs than

was

was the honour of ſerving under general Waſhington. The number of applicants was much greater than the publick ſervice required. Among thoſe who were on this occaſion ſent to America, the following illuſtrious names deſerve to be particularly mentioned: the count de Rochambeau, whoſe good conduct proved the wiſdom of the choice by which he was put at the head of the French troops; the baron de Viomenil; the chevalier de Chatelleux, famous as well for his literary as his military talents; the duke de Laval Montmorency; the viſcount de Rochambeau; the count de Saintmemes; the viſcount de Noailles, who had before made a campaign in America under count d'Eſtaing; the count de Guſtine and the duke de Caſtries. Theſe two laſtnamed officers had quitted the cavalry, in which they were far advanced, to ſerve in the infantry, that they might be ſent on this favourite ſervice. The marquis and the count de Deux Ponts; the prince de Broglio and the count de Segur; the duke de Lauzun, who commanded a legion compoſed of cavalry and infantry, and who had under his orders the viſcount d'Arrot and the count de Dillon.

NOTWITHSTANDING this uncommon zeal to ſerve in the American war, a whole year elapſed after the arrival of the French troops in Rhode-Iſland, before a proper opportunity of gratifying their paſſion for military fame preſented itſelf. So great was the impatience of the officers in this

this ſtate of inactivity, that it became neceſſary for their commander, count de Rochambeau, to exerciſe ſevere diſcipline to moderate their impetuoſity. A few of them were indulged with the liberty of making excurſions from Rhode-Iſland, but in general they were kept together, to be ready for any enterprize that ſhould offer. Early in the year 1781 fifteen hundred of theſe French troops were embarked on an expedition for the relief of Virginia. An engagement took place on the fifth of March, near the capes of the Cheſapeak, between the Britiſh admiral Arbuthnot and the French chef d'eſcadre d'Eſtouches. The former having the advantage of one ſhip more than the latter, fruſtrated the intended ſcheme. The fleet of his moſt chriſtian majeſty was obliged to return to Rhode-Iſland without accompliſhing their object. The ardent zeal of the French troops, though checked, was not repreſſed by this want of ſucceſs. In a few months full ſcope was given for the gratification of their fervent deſire to render effectual aid to their American allies. Near the ſame ſpot where they failed in their firſt attempt, they, in conjunction with other troops and ſhips of their nation and the American army, completed the great enterprize which terminated the war.

THE failure of the project for the relief of Virginia in March 1781, though at that time conſidered as diſaſtrous, proved eventually a moſt fortunate circumſtance to the allied arms of France and

and America; for it encouraged the Britiſh to fortify themſelves in the Cheſapeak, and prepared the way for the great event, ſhortly to be related, which gave peace to contending nations. The Britiſh had fixed on Virginia as the principal theatre of their operations for the year 1781. They had, beſides their militia, about ten thouſand regular troops in New-York. They were alſo in poſſeſſion of Savannah, Charleſton, and many ſtrong poſts in Carolina and Georgia. To retain their conqueſts in theſe laſt-mentioned ſtates, and to defend themſelves in New-York, were the principal objects of the Britiſh in the north and ſouth, while their chief active-force was to operate in or near the centre of the confederacy.

As the oppoſition to the re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government in the two Carolinas and Georgia was greatly invigorated by ſupplies from Virginia, the reduction of that powerful ſtate was conſidered as the moſt effectual method of completing the conqueſt of the ſouthern extremity of the union. The poſſeſſion of the Cheſapeak by the Britiſh furniſhed a convenient harbour for their fleets, and a central point from which they might direct their operations againſt the middle ſtates. Subſervient to this ſcheme, as well as to that of making a diverſion, while the war raged chiefly in South-Carolina, detachments from the royal army had been occaſionally ſent to Virginia in the latter end of the year 1780 and the beginning of 1781. As the ſeaſon advanced

vanced theſe were increaſed. By the junction of lord Cornwallis with the troops commanded by generals Philips and Arnold, an event which took place on the twentieth of May 1781, they became very formidable. After his lordſhip had marched through South and North-Carolina, he fancied he had ſubdued theſe ſtates, and therefore, as has been related, he proſecuted his imaginary conqueſts into Virginia. The forces under the command of general Philips and general Arnold had been, for ſome months previous to their junction with lord Cornwallis, marching through that ſtate in the ſame manner, and with the ſame effect, that his lordſhip had traverſed the two Carolinas. Whitherſoever they marched they bore down all oppoſition; but their conqueſts were ſeldom of longer duration than their encampments.

THE formidable force, thus collected in Virginia, called for the vigorous exertions of the friends of independence. The defence of that ſtate was at this period of the war principally entruſted to the marquis de la Fayette. The enthuſiaſtick zeal and great ſervices of this diſtinguiſhed French nobleman, merit a particular detail. At the age of nineteen he eſpouſed the cauſe of America with all the ardour which the moſt generous philanthropy could inſpire. At a very early period of the war, he determined to embark from his native country for the United States. Before he could complete this intention, intelligence

intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American inſurgents, reduced to two thouſand men, were flying through Jerſey before a Britiſh force of thirty thouſand regulars. This news ſo effectually extinguiſhed the little credit which America had in Europe, in the beginning of the year 1777, that the commiſſioners of Congreſs at Paris, though they had previouſly encouraged his project, could not procure a veſſel to forward his intentions. Under theſe circumſtances they thought it but honeſt to diſſuade him from the preſent proſecution of his perilous enterprize. It was in vain they acted ſo candid a part. The flame which America had kindled in his breaſt could not be extinguiſhed by her misfortunes. 'Hitherto,' ſaid he, in the true ſpirit of patriotiſm, 'I have only cheriſhed your cauſe—now I 'am going to ſerve it. The lower it is in the 'opinion of the people, the greater will be the 'effect of my departure; and ſince you cannot 'get a veſſel, I ſhall purchaſe and fit out one to 'carry your deſpatches to Congreſs and myſelf to 'America.' He accordingly embarked and arrived in Charleſton early in the year 1777. Congreſs ſoon conferred on him the rank of major-general. He accepted the appointment, but not without exacting two conditions, which diſplayed the elevation of his ſpirit: the one, that he ſhould be permitted to ſerve at his own expence; the other, that he ſhould begin his ſervices as a volunteer.

He was ſoon appointed to command an irruption into Canada. The plan was to croſs the lakes on the ice; the object to ſeize Montreal and St. Johns. He was now at the age of twenty, and muſt have keenly experienced the almoſt irreſiſtible allurements of independent command; but his cool judgment, and honeſt heart, reſtrained him from indulging a paſſion for military fame, under circumſtances that might have injured the cauſe which he had ſo zealouſly eſpouſed. He found that, in caſe of his proceeding, the army under his command would be in danger of experiencing a fate ſimilar to that of the unfortunate Burgoyne. With a boldneſs of judgment that would have done honour to the moſt experienced general, and without advancing beyond Albany, he relinquiſhed the expedition. Soon after he received the thanks of Congreſs for his prudence.

In the four campaigns which ſucceeded the arrival of the marquis de la Fayette in America, he gave repeated proofs of his military talents in the middle and eaſtern ſtates; but as theſe operations do not fall within the preſcribed limits of this hiſtory, I proceed to relate thoſe events which took place under his command in the ſouthern ſtates, and which had an influence on the publick affairs of South-Carolina.

Early in the year 1781, while the war raged to the ſouthward of Virginia, the marquis de la

Fayette

Fayette was detached on an expedition againſt Portſmouth, but here his active zeal received a check, no leſs fatal to his hopes than when he was obliged to relinquiſh the expedition to Canada. The engagement near the capes of the Cheſapeak, between the French chef d'eſcadre d'Eſtouches and the Britiſh admiral Arbuthnot, which took place on the fifth of March 1781, as has been related, defeated the enterprize. Upon this event he marched back to the Head of Elk, where he received an order from general Waſhington to return to Virginia, to oppoſe general Philips, who had joined general Arnold at Portſmouth. Although the troops under his command were in want of almoſt every thing, he nevertheleſs proceeded with them to Baltimore. Here he learned that general Philips was urging preparations to embark at Portſmouth, with upwards of three thouſand men. With the marquis de la Fayette it was a moment of extreme diſtreſs and embarraſſment. In his whole command there was not one pair of ſhoes; but the love and confidence he had univerſally excited, enabled him to obtain a loan of money which procured him ſome neceſſaries for his troops, and gave renewed vigour to his march. He ſuppoſed Richmond to be the object of general Philips, and therefore marched thither with ſo great expedition, that he arrived at that place the evening before general Philips. He was joined the firſt night after his arrival by major-general baron Steuben, with a corps of militia. In this manner was the capi-

tal of Virginia, at that time filled with almoſt all the military ſtores of the ſtate, ſaved from the moſt imminent danger. The Britiſh appeared the next morning at Mancheſter, juſt oppoſite to Richmond. The two armies ſurveyed each other for ſome time, and then general Philips, apprehending it to be too hazardous to attack the marquis de la Fayette in his ſtrong poſition, very prudently retired.

Such was the great ſuperiority of numbers by the combination of the forces under general Arnold, general Philips and lord Cornwallis—ſo fatal to all the ſouthern ſtates would have been the conqueſt of Virginia—that the marquis de la Fayette had before him a labour of the laſt conſequence, and was preſſed on all ſides by innumerable difficulties.

In the firſt moments of the riſing tempeſt, and till he could provide againſt its utmoſt rage, he began to retire with his little army, which conſiſted of about a thouſand regulars, two thouſand militia, and ſixty dragoons. Lord Cornwallis, exulting in the proſpect of ſucceſs, which he thought to be heightened by the youth of his opponent, incautiouſly wrote to Great-Britain, 'that the boy could not eſcape him.' The engagement, however, which was to confirm his promiſe, was ſedulouſly avoided. Finding it impoſſible to force an action, he next endeavoured to cut off the communication of the marquis de

la

la Fayette with general Wayne, who, with eight hundred Pennſylvanians, was advancing from the northward. The junction however was effected at Rackoon Ford without loſs. The next object of lord Cornwallis was to get poſſeſſion of the American ſtores, which, for their greater ſecurity, had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old courthouſe above the Point of Fork. While the troops commanded by the marquis de la Fayette and general Wayne were forming a junction, lord Cornwallis had gotten between them and their publick ſtores. The poſſeſſion of theſe was a principal object with both armies. The marquis de la Fayette, by forced marches, got within a few miles of the Britiſh army, when they were yet diſtant two days march from Albemarle old courthouſe. Once more the Britiſh general conſidered himſelf ſure of his adverſary. To ſave the ſtores he knew was his deſign, but to accompliſh that object, his lordſhip ſaw no practicable way but by a road in paſſing which the American army might be attacked to great advantage. It was a critical moment, but the marquis de la Fayette had the good fortune to extricate himſelf. He opened in the night, by part of his army, a nearer road to Albemarle, which, having been many years diſuſed, was much embarraſſed, and, to the aſtoniſhment of lord Cornwallis, poſted himſelf in a ſtrong poſition the next day between the Britiſh army and the American ſtores.

His lordſhip, finding all his ſchemes fruſtrated, fell back to Richmond, whither he was followed by the marquis de la Fayette. The main American army in Virginia was now reinforced by the troops under major-general baron Steuben, and by volunteer corps of Virginia and Maryland gentlemen. And the marquis de la Fayette had the addreſs to impreſs lord Cornwallis with an idea, that his force was much greater than he actually commanded. His lordſhip, therefore, retreated to Williamſburg. During this movement, on the twenty-ſixth of June 1781, an American light corps, commanded by colonel Butler, attacked the rear of the Britiſh army, and killed and wounded one hundred and ſixty of them. On the ſixth of July following, lord Cornwallis retreated from Williamſburg to James-Town, at which place happened a ſmart engagement between the Britiſh army and the American vanguard, commanded by general Wayne. General Wayne, having advanced with eight hundred men on miſtaken information, that the troops oppoſed to him were only a detached corps, no ſooner perceived his error, than he reſolutely engaged with the whole Britiſh army, conceiving this to be the moſt eligible mode of extricating himſelf from his perilous ſituation. With this view he urged his attack with ſuch confidence as impreſſed his enemy with the idea, that the party under his command was the advance of the American army, which was conſequently approaching to ſuſtain him. This bold manœuvre enabled

him

him to take advantage of the apprehenſions it excited, to effect a dangerous retreat with little loſs. His lordſhip ſoon after retired to Portſmouth, and the marquis de la Fayette choſe this moment to give ſome reſt to thoſe troops that had ſo ſucceſsfully defended the ſtate from a greatly ſuperior force.

After a ſeries of manœuvres, which it is not neceſſary to relate, and in which the Britiſh general diſplayed the boldneſs of enterprize, and the young marquis the ſound judgment of age, blended with the ardour of youth, the former fixed himſelf and his army in York-Town. The latter, under various pretences, ſent the Pennſylvania troops to the ſouth ſide of James River—collected a force in Glouceſter county, and made ſundry arrangements ſubſervient to the grand deſign of the whole campaign.

Though all the movements in Virginia previous to this period were on the defenſive, yet, during this time, a well-concerted ſcheme was carrying on for no leſs a purpoſe than the capture of the whole Britiſh force in that ſtate. Notwithſtanding this had been agreed upon for ſome time, and many preparatory ſteps ſubſervient thereto had been taken, yet it had been effectually concealed. Every appearance in the grand American army, under general Waſhington, was calculated to cheriſh an opinion, that it was intended to make a vigorous conjunct attack

on

on the Britiſh garriſon in New-York. The French army was brought forwards from Rhode-Iſland to American head-quarters. The militia from New-England were called out. A ſufficient number of flat-bottomed boats to tranſport at once five thouſand men, were built near Albany, in a ſhort time, by general Schuyler. Theſe were brought down Hudſon's river to the neighbourhood of the American army before New-York, though there was no intention of making uſe of them. Ovens were erected oppoſite to Staten-Iſland for the uſe of the French forces, and every movement made by general Waſhington which indicated his expectation of a fleet to co-operate with him in reducing the Britiſh army under the immediate command of ſir Henry Clinton. Theſe manœuvres had their intended operation. The whole attention of the Britiſh commanders was employed in fortifying New-York, and in preparing for a ſiege. Part of the forces in Virginia was ordered to the defence of that city. While lord Cornwallis with his army in Virginia were in fancied ſecurity, flattering themſelves with extenſive conqueſts, general Waſhington, to the ſurprize of all who were not in the ſecret, ſuddenly left his ſtation near New-York, and marched with the flower of his army through the intermediate ſtates to York-Town in Virginia, where the forces under the command of lord Cornwallis were intrenched. The French troops, commanded by count de Rochambeau, at the ſame time marched through the ſame ex-

tent

tent of territory. It ſeldom if ever happened before, that an army led through a foreign country, at ſo conſiderable a diſtance from their own, among a people of different principles, cuſtoms, language and religion, behaved with ſo much regularity. To the honour of the officers and ſoldiers of the French army it muſt be acknowledged, that, in their different marches in the ſpace of three years, through various parts of the United States, there never was a complaint brought againſt them by the citizens. The utmoſt harmony prevailed both between the allied armies, the troops of his moſt chriſtian majeſty and the inhabitants. Nations long accuſtomed to the freeſt ſocial intercourſe, could not have been on a more friendly footing than the French and Americans, though a few years before they had been in the habit of reviling, hating and fighting with each other.

General Waſhington had marched as far as Cheſter in Pennſylvania, before he received the welcome news of the arrival of the French fleet. Contrary winds had occaſioned a delay of a few days longer than was at firſt agreed upon. On the thirtieth of Auguſt count de Graſſe arrived in the Cheſapeak with twenty-eight ſhips of the line, and on the next day he landed on the ſouth ſide of James river three thouſand two hundred men. Theſe were commanded by the marquis de St. Simon, and were for the moſt part from the garriſon in Hiſpaniola. They ſpeedily formed

ed a junction with the marquis de la Fayette. Great was the exultation of this illuſtrious French nobleman on finding himſelf reinforced by ſo many of his countrymen, and that there was ſo fair a proſpect of extenſive ſervice to the cauſe in the ſupport of which he had ſo zealouſly engaged.

ADMIRAL Greaves, reinforced by lord Hood, made an attempt, on September fifth, with twenty ſail of the line, to relieve lord Cornwallis, but he was ſoon compelled to retire. Count de Barras, with eight ſail of the line, ſailed from Newport on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, and formed a junction with count de Graſſe within the Cheſapeak on the fourteenth of September. This was both difficult and dangerous. The Britiſh fleet was between the French fleet and the French ſquadron. Count de Barras had only eight ſhips under his command, and the Britiſh had nearly three times that number; yet he had the extraordinary good fortune to paſs them in the night, and effect a junction without any loſs. This gave a decided ſuperiority to the fleet of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

ALL theſe movements of the combined forces of France and America were the reſult of a well-digeſted plan of operations. The French fleets in the Weſt-Indies and in Rhode-Iſland, together with the French and American land-forces, notwithſtanding the original diſtance of the parties, both from the ſcene of action and from each other,

other, and the various accidents to which they were liable, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object, and at one and the ſame time, and, what is ſtill more ſurprizing, that object was neither known nor ſuſpected by the Britiſh commanders till the proper ſeaſon for counteraction was elapſed.

In important military operations the attention is fixed on the movements of armies or of fleets, and mankind never fail to do homage to the able general and the expert admiral. To this they are juſtly entitled; but as great a tribute is due to the profound ſtateſman, who, from a more elevated ſtation, ſurveys and balances the whole ſyſtem of a campaign, and the general ſafety and welfare of an empire. To foreſee the movements of an enemy, and to direct the force of a ſtate towards thoſe points where defence is neceſſary, and attacks may be made with advantage, requires the greateſt exertions of human abilities. This glory in a particular manner belongs to the marquis de Caſtries, who at this time directed the marine of France. He had calculated with that preciſion, which is the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick of great minds, the naval force which the Britiſh could concentre on the coaſt of the United States, and diſpoſed his own in ſuch a manner as enſured him a ſuperiority. Theſe diſpoſitions were made on ſuch principles, that the

French fleet, in the Cheſapeak, would have been ſuperior to the Britiſh without the junction of the ſquadron which had been ſtationed at Newport. This junction was nevertheleſs effected by count de Barras, though he was at liberty to undertake any other expedition. Notwithſtanding he was an older officer than count de Graſſe, he voluntarily choſe to put himſelf under his command, to make ſure of an object, the attainment of which was of ſuch immenſe conſequence to the allied arms of France and America.

Lord Cornwallis conceived himſelf bound by inſtructions from ſir Henry Clinton, to defend the poſts of York and Glouceſter. In obedience to theſe orders, and in the expectation of ſuccour from New-York, he prepared for a ſiege, by intrenching his army on both ſides of York river. The militia of the ſtate of Virginia were called out to ſervice, and were commanded by governor Nelſon. The French and American troops marched forwards with ſuch expedition, that, on the laſt day of September, they cloſely inveſted lord Cornwallis in York-Town; the French extending from the river above the town to a moraſs in the centre, where they were met by the Americans who occupied the oppoſite ſide from the river to that ſpot. The poſt at Glouceſter Point was at the ſame time inveſted by the duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a number of Virginia militia commanded by general Weedon; but the operations on that ſide were little more than

than a warm ſkirmiſh, in which the duke de Lauzun compelled lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to retire.

THE trenches were opened by the combined armies on the night of the ſixth of October, and their attacks were carried on with great vigour. The ſhells from the beſiegers reached the ſhips in the harbour, and the Charon, of forty-four guns, with ſome of the tranſports, were burned. On the night of the eleventh of October they began their ſecond parallel, at the diſtance of three hundred yards from the works of the beſieged.

LORD Cornwallis was ſoon convinced, that the poſt which he occupied was incapable of reſiſting the force oppoſed to it; but, in the confident expectation of aid from New-York, he declined attempting a retreat, or hazarding an engagement in the open field. His hopes were farther confirmed by a letter from ſir Henry Clinton, by which he was informed that relief would ſail about the fifth of October. But it ſo happened, that the delays which neceſſarily occurred in equipping and refitting the fleets, deſtined for York-Town, made the fulfilment of this engagement impoſſible.

TWO redoubts, which were advanced about three hundred yards on the left of the Britiſh, greatly impeded the progreſs of the combined armies.

armies. An attack on theſe was therefore reſolved upon. To excite a ſpirit of emulation, the reduction of one was committed to the French—of the other to the Americans. The latter marched to the aſſault with unloaded arms, paſſed the abbatis and paliſades, and, attacking on all ſides, carried the redoubt in a few minutes. Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, on this occaſion, perſonally took the commanding officer of the redoubt, but ſaved him from the fate which uſually attends thoſe who are taken by ſtorm. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted this ſucceſsful enterprize with ſo much addreſs and intrepidity, and who is no leſs diſtinguiſhed for literary than for military talents, in his report of the tranſaction to the marquis de la Fayette, mentioned, to the honour of his detachment, 'that, 'incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, 'and forgetting recent provocations, they ſpared 'every man that ceaſed to reſiſt.'

THE French were equally ſucceſsful on their ſide. They carried the redoubt committed to them with rapidity, but loſt a conſiderable number of men. Theſe two works, which had heretofore embarraſſed the operations of the beſiegers by being included in the ſecond parallel, were made ſubſervient to their ulterior deſigns.

THE inferior numbers of the garriſon made it improper for lord Cornwallis to riſk any conſiderable force in the making of ſallies, and the beſiegers

ſiegers had proceeded with ſo much regularity and caution, that nothing leſs than a ſtrong attack could make any impreſſion. On the morning of the ſixteenth lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie was ordered to make a ſortie, with about three hundred and fifty men. They ſucceeded ſo far as to force two advanced redoubts, and to ſpike eleven pieces of cannon, beſides killing and wounding a conſiderable number of the French troops. Though the officers and ſoldiers diſplayed great bravery in this enterprize, yet their ſucceſs produced no eſſential advantage. The cannon, which had been haſtily ſpiked, were ſoon again rendered fit for ſervice. By this time the works of the beſieged were ſo far deſtroyed, that they could ſcarcely ſhew a ſingle gun.

Lord Cornwallis had now no choice left but either to prepare for a ſurrender, or to make his eſcape. He determined to attempt the latter, hoping that at leaſt it might retard the fate of his army. Boats were prepared under different pretexts, but with the intention of receiving the troops at ten at night, in order to paſs them over to Glouceſter Point, from whence a paſſage to the open country was not altogether hopeleſs. In the execution of this deſign the firſt embarkation had arrived at Glouceſter Point, and a part of the troops were landed, when the weather, which was then moderate and calm, inſtantly changed to a moſt violent ſtorm of wind and rain. The boats were all driven down the river, which

which not only fruſtrated the original ſcheme, but made it impoſſible to bring back the boats from Glouceſter. The royal army, thus weakened and divided, was expoſed to increaſed danger till the next day, when the boats returned and the troops were brought back.

By this time the works of the beſieged were ſo broken, that they were aſſailable in many places, and the troops were exhauſted by conſtant watching and unceaſing fatigue. The time in which relief from New-York was promiſed had elapſed. Longer reſiſtance could anſwer no purpoſe, and might occaſion the loſs of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore, on the ſeventeenth, wrote a letter to general Waſhington, requeſting a ceſſation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commiſſioners might be appointed for digeſting terms of capitulation. It is remarkable, while lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Waſhington on this occaſion, was drawing up articles by which a numerous Britiſh army became priſoners, that his father was cloſely confined in the tower of London.

The poſts of York and Glouceſter were ſurrendered on the nineteenth of October. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been denied to general Lincoln, on his giving up Charleſton, was now refuſed to earl Cornwallis, and general Lincoln was appointed

pointed to receive the ſubmiſſion of the royal army at York-Town preciſely in the ſame way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before. The troops of every kind ſurrendered priſoners of war exceeded ſeven thouſand men, but the effective men at that time was very little more than half that number. The officers and ſoldiers retained their baggage and effects, but all viſible plundered property was liable to be reclaimed.

Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permiſſion for the Britiſh and German troops to return to their reſpective countries, under engagements not to ſerve againſt France or America; and alſo an indemnity for thoſe of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to conſent, that the former ſhould be retained in the governments of Virginia, Pennſylvania and Maryland; and that the latter, whoſe caſe lay with the civil authority of the ſtates, ſhould be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordſhip, nevertheleſs, obtained permiſſion for the Bonetta ſloop of war to paſs unexamined, which gave an opportunity of ſcreening thoſe of the royaliſts who were moſt obnoxious to the reſentment of the Americans.

The land-forces became priſoners to Congreſs, but the ſeamen and ſhips were aſſigned to the French admiral. [ww]

The

[ww] See note XLVII.

THE Britiſh fleet and army, deſtined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Cheſapeak on the twenty-fourth of October; but, on receiving authentick accounts of his ſurrender, they returned to Sandy-Hook and New-York.

SUCH was the fate of that general from whoſe ſucceſſes in the years 1780 and 1781 the complete and ſpeedy conqueſt of the ſouthern ſtates had been ſo confidently expected. No event, during the war, bid ſo fair for ruining the independence of America as his complete victory at Camden; but ſo it happened, that his lordſhip by that action, and its conſequences, became the occaſion of rendering that a revolution, which, from his previous ſucceſs, was in danger of terminating in a rebellion. The loſs of this army may be conſidered as the cloſing ſcene of the continental war in North-America. From that time forward a new policy influenced the Britiſh cabinet, and every thing tended to peace and an acknowledgment of the independence of the ſtates. The re-eſtabliſhment of Britiſh government had been in vain attempted in the north, in the ſouth, and in the middle ſtates. The ſeventh campaign terminated with the ſurrender of all the Britiſh force in Virginia, and the confinement of their army in Carolina to the vicinity of Charleſton.

CONGRESS honoured general Waſhington, count de Rochambeau, count de Graſſe, and the officers

officers of the different corps, and the men under their command, with their thanks for their ſervices in the reduction of lord Cornwallis. They alſo reſolved to erect in York-Town a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his moſt chriſtian Majeſty. [xx]

THE very important ſervices rendered by the engineers and artillery-officers, in this intereſting ſiege, attracted the particular notice of Congreſs. In the former line brigadier-general Du-Portail was advanced to the rank of major-general. Lieutenant-colonel Gouvion received a brevet of a colonel, and captain Rochefontaine the brevet of a major. In the line of artillery-officers brigadier-general Knox was promoted to the rank of major-general. The circumſtances of theſe promotions were as honourable as the ſervices of theſe officers had been beneficial. [yy]

THE army, under the command of lord Cornwallis, had ſpread waſte and ruin over the face of all the country for four hundred miles on the ſea-coaſt, and for two hundred miles to the weſtward. Their numbers enabled them to go where they pleaſed, and their rage for plunder diſpoſed them to take whatever they eſteemed moſt valuable. Their progreſs was marked with rapine, and they had involved thouſands in diſtreſs. The reduction of ſuch a commander, and of ſuch an

[xx] See note XLVIII. [yy] See note XLIX.

army, occaſioned tranſports of joy in the breaſt of every American. The churches reſounded with devout acknowledgments to the God of battles. Feſtivity crowned the ſocial board, while, in grateful commemoration of theſe ſignal ſervices, the ſparkling wine was freely poured out in ardent wiſhes for the health and happineſs of the illuſtrious defenders of the rights of human nature. Legiſlative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private ſocieties, preſented congratulatory addreſſes to general Waſhington, accompanied with the warmeſt acknowledgments to count de Rochambeau, count de Graſſe, and the other officers in the ſervice of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

Whilst earl Cornwallis commanded in the ſouthern department, he had, in many inſtances, violated the capitulation of Charleſton. This was conſidered by many as a ſufficient reaſon to deprive him of ſome of the benefits to which he was entitled by the capitulation of York-Town. It was therefore moved in Congreſs by the honourable Arthur Middleton, a delegate from the State of South-Carolina, that, 'in order to pre-'vent future controverſy upon the ſubject of ex-'change, Congreſs, who repreſent the feelings 'as well as the ſenſe of the union, do declare, 'that lieutenant-general Charles earl Cornwallis 'ought not to be exchanged by compoſition, not 'from any apprehenſions of his influence or ſu-'perior abilities, but becauſe they look upon him

'not

'not in the light of a Britiſh general, but a bar-
'barian. In proof of their juſtice for claſſing
'him in ſo degrading a predicament, they appeal
'to the impartial hiſtory of his conduct during
'his command in the ſouthern and middle ſtates,
'where his progreſs may be traced by blood
'wantonly ſpilt, by executions unwarranted even
'by military regulations, and by the indiſcrimi-
'nate plunder of the property and deſtruction
'of the habitations of the widow and the or-
'phan, circumſtances diſgraceful to the arms of
'any enlightened people, becauſe he has govern-
'ed himſelf ſolely upon the principles of eaſtern
'tyranny—has broken the faith of treaty ſo-
'lemnly pledged in the capitulation of Charleſton,
'by ordering the ſeizure of the property and
'perſons of the capitulants, by the confinement
'of ſome on board of priſon-ſhips, the tranſ-
'portation of others to St. Auguſtine, and the
'baniſhment of their wives and children—be-
'cauſe he has authorized and countenanced the
'enliſtment of upwards of five hundred Ameri-
'can ſoldiers into the Britiſh ſervice, or rather
'ſuffered them to be compelled by cruelties and
'hard uſage to take arms againſt their country,
'and in numberleſs other inſtances has infringed
'every rule of war eſtabliſhed among civilized
'nations.' But as his lordſhip had ſurrendered by capitulation, a ſenſe of national honour, and delicacy with reſpect to general Waſhington, weighed with the ſupreme council of the ſtates to refuſe their aſſent to this propoſition.

THE

THE ſucceſſes that had attended the American arms in South-Carolina, in the ſummer of 1781, and the arrival of count de Graſſe in the Cheſapeak, gave ſuch flattering proſpects to the friends of independence, that it was judged to be a favourable opportunity to detach from the Britiſh intereſt in South-Carolina thoſe of the inhabitants of the ſtate who had joined them in the day of their ſucceſs. On the twenty-ſeventh of September 1781, governor Rutledge, therefore, iſſued a proclamation, offering them pardon on condition of their doing ſix months militia duty, with the exception of thoſe who had taken commiſſions—ſigned congratulatory addreſſes on Britiſh victories—or who had been otherwiſe active in ſupport of their government.[zz] In a few weeks ſeveral hundreds came out of the Britiſh lines, and greatly reinforced the American militia. Several were now as aſſiduous in framing excuſes for their having arranged themſelves under the Britiſh ſtandard, as they had been the year before to apologize for their involuntary ſupport of rebellion. 'Their wives, their children and 'their property, made it neceſſary to make a 'ſhew of ſubmiſſion to the conquerors—They 'thought the country was ſubdued, and that far-'ther reſiſtance was vain—but, notwithſtanding, 'at all times they wiſhed well to American inde-'pendence.' Such was the alacrity with which they joined their countrymen, that ſeveral, though excepted by the proclamation, caſt themſelves on the

[zz] See note L.

the publick mercy. They explained their taking Britiſh commiſſions into a benevolent deſign, of reſcuing their neighbours from more ſevere officers. For their ſigning addreſſes of congratulation on Britiſh victories, many apologies were offered. Some alleged in their behalf 'the fear 'of loſing their eſtates—of being refuſed protec-'tion, or of being objects of ſuſpicion.' Others had never read them; but they all agreed, 'that 'the ſentiments contained in theſe ill-fated ad-'dreſſes, were at no time the language of their 'hearts.'

The tranquillity that reigned through every part of the ſtate gave an opportunity of calling an aſſembly, the meetings of which had been interrupted ever ſince the reduction of Charleſton. Many of the inhabitants who had never ſubmitted to the Britiſh, and who had been lately delivered as exchanged in Virginia and Philadelphia, ſoon found their way back to South-Carolina. In their number were moſt of the late civil officers of the ſtate, and members of the legiſlature. Theſe favourable circumſtances, in conjunction with the poſition of the American army, within thirty-ſix miles of Charleſton, pointed out the propriety of convening a legiſlature. In the cloſe of the year 1781, governor Rutledge, by virtue of the extraordinary power delegated to him before the ſurrender of Charleſton, iſſued writs for a new election. Theſe were ordered to be held in the uſual places where it was practicable, and

and in other caſes as near as ſafety and other circumſtances would permit. By the ſame authority it was ordered, that at the election the votes of ſuch only ſhould be received as had never taken Britiſh protection, or who having taken it, had notwithſtanding re-joined their countrymen on or before the twenty-ſeventh of September 1781. Other perſons, though reſidents, were not conſidered as freemen of the ſtate, or entitled to the full privilege of citizenſhip. A general aſſembly was choſen, and convened in January 1782 at Jackſonborough, a ſmall village ſituate on Ediſto river, about twenty-five miles from the ſea and thirty-five from Charleſton. The legiſlative bodies, ſoon after their meeting, were addreſſed by governor Rutledge with the following ſpeech:

'The SPEECH of his excellency JOHN RUTLEDGE, 'eſquire, governor and commander in chief of 'the ſtate of South-Carolina, to the general 'aſſembly, met at Jackſonborough, on Friday 'the eighteenth day of January, 1782.

'Honourable gentlemen of the ſenate, 'Mr. ſpeaker, and gentlemen of the houſe 'of repreſentatives,

'SINCE the laſt meeting of a general aſſembly, 'the good people of this ſtate have not only felt the 'common calamities of war, but, from the wanton 'and ſavage manner in which it has been proſe- 'cuted, they have experienced ſuch ſeverities as

'are

'are unpractiſed, and will ſcarcely be credited by 'civilized nations.

'THE enemy, unable to make any impreſſion 'on the northern ſtates, the number of whoſe in- 'habitants, and the ſtrength of whoſe country, 'had baffled their repeated efforts, turned their 'views towards the ſouthern, which, a difference 'of circumſtances, afforded ſome expectation of 'conquering, or at leaſt of greatly diſtreſſing. 'After a long reſiſtance, the reduction of Charleſ- 'ton was effected, by the vaſt ſuperiority of force 'with which it had been beſieged. The loſs of 'that garriſon, as it conſiſted of the continental 'troops of Virginia and the Carolinas, and of a 'number of militia, facilitated the enemy's march 'into the country, and their eſtabliſhment of 'ſtrong poſts in the upper and interior parts of 'it; and the unfavourable iſſue of the action 'near Camden induced them vainly to imagine, 'that no other army could be collected which 'they might not eaſily defeat. The militia, com- 'manded by the brigadiers Sumpter and Marion, 'whoſe enterpriſing ſpirit and unremitted perſe- 'verance under many difficulties are deſerving 'of great applauſe, haraſſed and often defeated 'large parties; but the numbers of thoſe militia 'were too few to contend effectually with the 'collected ſtrength of the enemy. Regardleſs 'therefore of the ſacred ties of honour, deſti- 'tute of the feelings of humanity, and deter- 'mined to extinguiſh, if poſſible, every ſpark of

'freedom

'freedom in this country, they, with the inſo-
'lent pride of conquerors, gave unbounded ſcope
'to the exerciſe of their tyrannical diſpoſition,
'infringed their publick engagements, and vio-
'lated the moſt ſolemn capitulations. Many of
'our worthieſt citizens were, without cauſe,
'long and cloſely confined—ſome on board of
'priſon-ſhips, and others in the town and caſtle
'of St. Auguſtine—their properties diſpoſed of
'at the will and caprice of the enemy, and their
'families ſent to a different and diſtant part of
'the continent without the means of ſupport.
'Many who had ſurrendered as priſoners of war
'were killed in cold blood—ſeveral ſuffered
'death in the moſt ignominious manner, and
'others were delivered up to ſavages, and put to
'tortures under which they expired. Thus the
'lives, liberties and properties of the people
'were dependent ſolely on the pleaſure of Britiſh
'officers, who deprived them of either or all on
'the moſt frivolous pretences. Indians, ſlaves,
'and a deſperate banditti of the moſt profligate
'characters, were careſſed and employed by the
'enemy to execute their infamous purpoſes. De-
'vaſtation and ruin marked their progreſs and
'that of their adherents—nor were their vio-
'lences reſtrained by the charms or influence of
'beauty and innocence—even the fair ſex, whom
'it is the duty of all, and the pleaſure and pride
'of the brave, to protect—they, and their tender
'offspring, were victims to the inveterate malice
'of an unrelenting foe. Neither the tears of mo-
'thers

'thers, nor the cries of infants, could excite in 'their breaſts pity or compaſſion. Not only the 'peaceful habitations of the widow, the aged 'and the infirm, but the holy temples of the 'Moſt High were conſumed in flames, kindled by 'their ſacrilegious hands. They have tarniſhed 'the glory of the Britiſh arms, diſgraced the pro-'feſſion of a Britiſh ſoldier, and fixed indelible 'ſtigmas of rapine, cruelty, perfidy and pro-'faneneſs, on the Britiſh name—But I can now 'congratulate you, and I do ſo moſt cordially, 'on the pleaſing change of affairs which, under 'the bleſſing of GOD, the wiſdom, prudence, 'addreſs and bravery of the great and gallant ge-'neral Greene, and the intrepidity of the officers 'and men under his command, has been happily 'effected—a general who is juſtly entitled, from 'his many ſignal ſervices, to honourable and ſin-'gular marks of your approbation and gratitude. 'His ſucceſſes have been more rapid and com-'plete than the moſt ſanguine could have ex-'pected. The enemy, compelled to ſurrender 'or evacuate every poſt which they held in the 'country, frequently defeated and driven from 'place to place, are obliged to ſeek refuge under 'the walls of Charleſton, and on iſlands in its 'vicinity. We have now the full and abſolute 'poſſeſſion of every other part of the ſtate; and 'the legiſlative, executive and judicial powers, 'are in the free exerciſe of their reſpective 'authorities.

'I ALSO moſt heartily congratulate you on the 'glorious victory obtained by the combined 'forces of America and France over their com- 'mon enemy. When the very general who was 'ſecond in command at the reduction of Charleſ- 'ton, and to whoſe boaſted proweſs and highly 'extolled abilities the conqueſt of no leſs than 'three ſtates had been arrogantly committed, 'was ſpeedily compelled to accept of the ſame 'mortifying terms which had been impoſed on 'that brave but unfortunate garriſon, to ſurren- 'der an army of many thouſand regulars, and 'to abandon his wretched followers, whom he 'had artfully ſeduced from their allegiance by 'ſpecious promiſes of protection, which he could 'never have hoped to fulfil, to the juſtice or 'mercy of their country—On the naval ſuperio- 'rity eſtabliſhed by the illuſtrious ally of the 'United States—a ſuperiority in itſelf ſo decided, 'and in its conſequences ſo extenſive, as muſt 'inevitably ſoon oblige the enemy to yield to us 'the only poſt which they occupy in this ſtate— 'On the reiterated proofs of the ſincereſt friend- 'ſhip, and on the great ſupport which America 'has received from that powerful monarch—a 'monarch whoſe magnanimity is univerſally ac- 'knowledged and admired, and on whoſe royal 'word we may confidently rely for every neceſ- 'ſary aſſiſtance—On the perfect harmony which 'ſubſiſts between France and America—On the 'ſtability which her independence has acquired— 'and on the certainty that it is too deeply rooted

'ever

'ever to be ſhaken; for, animated as they are 'by national honour, and united by one common 'intereſt, it muſt and will be maintained.

'WHAT may be the immediate effects on the 'Britiſh nation, of the events which I have 'mentioned; of their loſs of territory in other 'parts of the world; and of their well-founded 'apprehenſions from the powers of France, Spain 'and Holland, it is impoſſible to foretel. If ex- 'perience can teach wiſdom to a haughty and 'infatuated people, and if they will now be go- 'verned by reaſon, they will have learned that 'they can have no ſolid ground of hope to con- 'quer any ſtate in the union; for, though their 'armies have obtained temporary advantages 'over our troops, yet the citizens of theſe ſtates, 'firmly reſolved as they are never to return to 'a domination which, near ſix years ago, they 'unanimouſly and juſtly renounced, cannot be 'ſubdued—and they muſt now be convinced 'that it is the height of folly and madneſs to 'perſiſt in ſo ruinous a war. If, however, we 'judge as we ought of their future by their paſt 'conduct, we may preſume that they will not 'only endeavour to keep poſſeſſion of our capi- 'tal, but make another attempt, howſoever impro- 'bable the ſucceſs of it may appear, to ſubjugate 'this country—It is therefore highly incumbent 'on us to uſe our moſt ſtrenuous efforts to fruſ- 'trate ſo fatal a deſign. And I earneſtly conjure 'you by the duty which you owe, and the ſacred

'love

'love which you bear, to your country; by the 'conſtant remembrance of her bitter ſufferings; 'and by the juſt deteſtation of Britiſh govern- 'ment, which you and your poſterity muſt for- 'ever poſſeſs, to exert your utmoſt faculties for 'that purpoſe, by raiſing and equipping, with 'all poſſible expedition, a reſpectable permanent 'force, and by making ample proviſion for their 'comfortable ſubſiſtence. I am ſenſible the ex- 'pence will be great, but a meaſure ſo indiſpen- 'ſable to the preſervation of our freedom, is 'above every pecuniary conſideration.

'THE organization of our militia is likewiſe 'a ſubject of infinite importance. A clear and 'conciſe law, by which the burdens of ſervice 'will be equally ſuſtained, and a competent 'number of men brought forth and kept in the 'field when their aſſiſtance may be required, is 'eſſential to our ſecurity, and therefore juſtly 'claims your immediate and ſerious attention. 'Certain it is, that ſome of our militia have, 'upon ſeveral occaſions, exhibited inſtances of 'valour which would have reflected honour on 'veteran troops. The courage and conduct of 'the generals whom I have mentioned, the cool 'and determined bravery repeatedly diſplayed by 'brigadier Pickens, and indeed the behaviour of 'many officers and men in every brigade, are 'unqueſtionable teſtimonies of the truth of this 'aſſertion; but ſuch behaviour cannot be ex- 'pected from militia in general, without good

'order

'order and ſtrict diſcipline—nor can that order 'and diſcipline be eſtabliſhed but by a ſalutary 'law ſteadily executed.

'ANOTHER important matter for your delibe-'ration, is the conduct of ſuch of our citizens 'as voluntarily avowing their allegiance, and 'even glorying in their profeſſions of loyalty and 'attachment to his Britannick majeſty, have of-'fered their congratulations on the ſucceſs of his 'arms, prayed to be embodied as royal militia, 'accepted commiſſions in his ſervice, and endea-'voured to ſubvert our conſtitution and eſtabliſh 'his power in its ſtead—of thoſe who have re-'turned to this ſtate in defiance of a law by 'which ſuch return was declared to be a capital 'offence, and have abetted the Britiſh intereſt—'and of ſuch whoſe behaviour has been ſo repre-'henſible, that juſtice and policy forbid their 'free re-admiſſion to the rights and privileges of 'citizens.

'THE extraordinary lenity of this ſtate has 'been remarkably conſpicuous; other ſtates 'have thought it juſt and expedient to appropri-'ate the property of Britiſh ſubjects to the pub-'lick uſe, but we have forborne to take even the 'profits of the eſtates of our moſt implacable 'enemies. It is with you to determine whether 'the forfeiture and appropriation of their pro-'perty ſhould now take place. If ſuch ſhall be 'your determination, though many of our firmeſt

'friends

'friends have been reduced, for their inflexible 'attachment to the cauſe of their country, from 'opulence to inconceivable diſtreſs, and, if the 'enemy's will and power had prevailed, would 'have been doomed to indigence and beggary, 'yet it will redound to the reputation of this ſtate 'to provide a becoming ſupport for the families 'of thoſe whom you may deprive of their pro-'perty.

'The value of paper currency became of late 'ſo much depreciated, that it was requiſite, under 'the powers veſted in the executive during the 'receſs of the general aſſembly, to ſuſpend the 'laws by which it was made a tender. You will 'now conſider whether it may not be proper to 'repeal thoſe laws, and fix ſome equitable mode 'for the diſcharge of debts contracted whilſt 'paper money was in circulation.

'In the preſent ſcarcity of ſpecie it would be 'difficult, if not impracticable, to levy a tax to 'any conſiderable amount towards ſinking the 'publick debt; nor will the creditors of the ſtate 'expect that ſuch a tax ſhould, at this time, be 'impoſed; but it is juſt and reaſonable, that all 'unſettled demands ſhould be liquidated, and 'ſatisfactory aſſurances of payment given to the 'publick creditors.

'The intereſt and honour, the ſafety and hap-'pineſs of our country, depend ſo much on the

'reſult

'result of your deliberations, that I flatter myself 'you will proceed, in the weighty buſineſs be- 'fore you, with firmneſs and temper, with vi- 'gour, unanimity and diſpatch.

'JOHN RUTLEDGE.'

To this ſpeech the following addreſſes were returned by the two branches of legiſlature.

'The ADDRESS of the honourable the SENATE 'in anſwer to the governor's ſpeech.

'May it pleaſe your excellency,

'WE beg leave to return your excellency the 'thanks of this houſe for your ſpeech.

'ANY words that we might adopt would con- 'vey but a very faint idea of the ſatisfaction we 'feel on the perfect re-eſtabliſhment of the legiſ- 'lative, executive and judicial powers in this 'ſtate.

'IT is with particular pleaſure, that we take 'the earlieſt opportunity to preſent to your ex- 'cellency our unfeigned thanks for your unwea- 'ried zeal and attention to the real intereſt of 'this country, and to teſtify our entire approba- 'tion of the good conduct of the executive ſince 'the laſt meeting of the general aſſembly.

'WE ſee and revere the goodneſs of Divine 'Providence in fruſtrating and diſappointing the 'attempts

'attempts of our enemies to conquer the ſouth-
'ern ſtates; and we truſt, that, by the bleſſing of
'the ſame Providence, on the valour and intre-
'pidity of the free citizens of America, their
'attacks and enterprizes will continue to be re-
'pelled and defeated.

'We reflect with pleaſure on the ſteady reſo-
'lution with which Charleſton was defended by
'a ſmall body of brave men againſt ſuch a vaſt
'ſuperiority of force, and we gratefully acknow-
'ledge the meritorious conduct and important
'ſervices of the officers and privates of the mili-
'tia, who ſtood forth in the hour of danger, and
'whoſe coolneſs, perſeverance and ardour, under
'a complication of difficulties, moſt juſtly entitle
'them to the applauſe of their country.

'We flatter ourſelves that the blood which the
'enemy has inhumanly ſpilled, the wanton deva-
'ſtation which has marked their progreſs, and the
'tyrannical ſyſtem that they have invariably pur-
'ſued, and which your excellency hath ſo juſtly
'and pathetically deſcribed to us, will rouſe the
'good people of this ſtate, and will animate
'them with a ſpirit to protect their country, to
'ſave their rights and liberties, and to maintain,
'at all hazards, their independency.

'It is with inexpreſſible pleaſure, that we re-
'ceive your excellency's congratulations upon
'the great and glorious events of the campaign,

'on

'on the happy change of affairs, and on the 'pleaſing proſpect before us; and we aſſure your 'excellency, that we concur moſt ſincerely with 'you, in acknowledging and applauding the me-'ritorious zeal, and the very important ſervices 'which have been rendered to this ſtate by the 'great and gallant general Greene, and the brave 'and intrepid officers and men under his com-'mand, and to whom we ſhall be happy to give 'the moſt honourable and ſingular teſtimonies 'of our approbation and applauſe.

'We are truly ſenſible of the immenſe ad-'vantage which the United States derive from 'the magnanimous prince their ally: we have 'the moſt perfect confidence on his royal word, 'and on the ſincerity of his friendſhip; and we 'think ourſelves much indebted to that illuſtri-'ous monarch for the great and effectual aſſiſt-'ance which he hath been pleaſed to give the 'confederated ſtates, and by whoſe means they 'have been enabled to humble the pride of Bri-'tain, and to eſtabliſh their independency upon 'the moſt permanent baſis.

'The importance of the ſeveral matters which 'your excellency hath recommended to our con-'ſideration is ſo evident, that we ſhall proceed 'to deliberate upon them with all poſſible diſ-'patch; and we flatter ourſelves that our buſineſs 'will

'will be carried on with temper, firmneſs and 'unanimity.

'J. L. GERVAIS, preſident.'

'The ADDRESS of the HOUSE of REPRESENTA-'TIVES in anſwer to the governor's ſpeech.

'WE, the houſe of repreſentatives of the ſtate 'of South-Carolina, in general aſſembly met, 'return your excellency our moſt cordial thanks 'for your very intereſting ſpeech to both houſes 'at the opening of this ſeſſion, the language of 'which evidently beſpeaks a heart glowing with 'ardent zeal for the intereſt and welfare of our 'common country.

'WE want words to expreſs our heart-felt ex-'ultation on the pleaſing reverſe in our affairs. 'On this ſpot, but a few months paſt, a military 'deſpotiſm prevailed, and tyranny, with lawleſs 'violence, was deſolating our fair poſſeſſions; 'but we now, with extacy, behold a free go-'vernment re-eſtabliſhed, liberty, that greateſt 'of temporal bleſſings, reſtored, and every citi-'zen ſecured in the poſſeſſion of his property 'by the firm barrier of the law of his country. 'This auſpicious change is in a great degree ow-'ing to the prudence, firmneſs and good conduct 'of your excellency.

'IF any thing can add to the ſublime and re-'fined enjoyment, which muſt ariſe from your 'excellency's own reflections on your perſever-

'ing,

'ing, unabated and ſucceſsful exertions towards 'reſcuing your country from the iron hand of 'oppreſſion, be pleaſed, ſir, to accept the moſt 'ſincere and unfeigned thanks of your grateful 'fellow-citizens.

'THE black catalogue which your excellency 'has given of Britiſh barbarities, forms but a 'ſmall part of the whole. Whenever the hiſto-'rick page ſhall be ſtained with their ſtory, it 'will exhibit a nation devoid of faith; with 'whom oaths, treaties, and the moſt ſolemn 'compacts were conſidered as trifles; who, with-'out ſcruple or remorſe, had abandoned all re-'gard to humanity, honour, juſtice and every 'ennobling ſentiment of the human breaſt. It 'is hardly poſſible to conceive any circumſtance 'that could aggravate the atrocious wickedneſs 'of their conduct. There is not left a ſtep in the 'degradation of national character to which they 'can now deſcend. The name of a Briton muſt 'henceforward be a term of reproach among 'all nations.

'WE ſhould betray a great degree of inſenſi-'bility, and be wanting in juſtice to his merit, 'ſhould we omit this occaſion of acknowledging, 'with the warmeſt gratitude, our obligations to 'the great and gallant general Greene. His at-'chievements in this ſtate, while they rank him 'with the greateſt commanders of ancient or 'modern date, will engrave his name in indeli-

'ble

'ble characters on the heart of every friend to 'this country. Our acknowledgments are alſo 'due to all the brave officers and men under his 'command, who have ſo often fought, bled and 'conquered for us. The generals Sumpter, Ma-'rion and Pickens, with the brave militia under 'their commands, thoſe virtuous citizens who 'did not deſpair of the commonwealth in her 'greateſt extremity, are deſerving of the higheſt 'commendation. The friendly, ſeaſonable and 'effectual aid, recently afforded us by our great 'and illuſtrious ally, by means of which the ge-'neral, on whom the Britiſh nation ſeemed moſt 'to have placed their dependence, has been com-'pelled to ſurrender the flower of the Britiſh 'army to our immortal commander in chief, muſt 'greatly increaſe the flame of gratitude which 'had been before kindled in the breaſt of every 'American, and which it will not be in the power 'of time or accident to extinguiſh. We per-'fectly concur in ſentiment with your excellen-'cy, that, from our connexion with this power-'ful and wiſe monarch, we may expect, with 'well-grounded confidence, that our indepen-'dence will be ſhortly eſtabliſhed upon an immov-'able baſis, nor need we harbour a ſingle fear 'of its diſſolution.

'An union which originated from ſuch liberal 'and generous motives, and which is founded 'on mutual intereſt, that beſt cement of nations, 'muſt and will continue. Whether the ſeries of

'loſſes,

'loſſes, diſaſters and defeats of the year paſt, 'will at length recover Britain from her deliri-'um, time only can diſcloſe; but as misfortune 'hitherto, inſtead of producing reflection and 'prudence, has operated to increaſe her inſanity, 'we agree in opinion with your excellency, that 'it is probable ſhe will not only endeavour to 'keep poſſeſſion of our capital, but make another 'attempt to ſubjugate the country—we ſhall there-'fore immediately enter upon the proſecution of 'the meaſures recommended by your excellency, 'as neceſſary for its ſafety; and being fully ſen-'ſible how much depends upon the reſult of 'our deliberations, we will endeavour to proceed 'in the weighty buſineſs with firmneſs and tem-'per, with vigour, unanimity and diſpatch.

'By order of the houſe,

'HUGH RUTLEDGE, ſpeaker.'

BY the rotation eſtabliſhed, it became neceſſary to chooſe a new governor. The ſuffrages of a majority were in the firſt inſtance in favour of the honourable Chriſtopher Gadſden, eſquire, who declined the office in a ſhort ſpeech to the following effect: 'I have ſerved you in a variety 'of ſtations for thirty years, and I would now 'cheerfully make one of a forlorn hope in an 'aſſault on the lines of Charleſton, if it was pro-'bable that, with the certain loſs of my life, you 'would be re-inſtated in the poſſeſſion of your 'capital. What I can do for my country I am 'willing to do. My ſentiments of the American

'cauſe

'cauſe from the ſtamp-act downwards have never 'changed. I am ſtill of opinion that it is the 'cauſe of liberty and of human nature. If my 'acceptance of the office of governor would 'ſerve my country, though my adminiſtration 'would be attended with the loſs of perſonal 'credit and reputation, I would cheerfully un-'dertake it. The preſent times require the vi-'gour and activity of the prime of life; but I 'feel the increaſing infirmities of old age to ſuch 'a degree, that I am conſcious I cannot ſerve you 'to advantage. I therefore beg for your ſakes, 'and for the ſake of the publick, that you would 'indulge me with the liberty of declining the 'arduous truſt.' He was indulged in his re-queſt; but, though he declined the laborious office of governor, he continued to ſerve both in the aſſembly and council, where, notwithſtanding the long confinement he had ſuffered in the caſtle of St. Auguſtine, in violation of the capitulation of Charleſton, and the immenſe loſs of his property, he oppoſed the law, which was brought in on this occaſion, for confiſcating the eſtates of the adherents to the Britiſh government, and zealouſly contended that ſound policy required to forget and forgive.

THE general aſſembly elected the honourable John Mathews governor, filled up vacancies in the different departments, and re-eſtabliſhed civil government in all its branches. They alſo delegated to the governor or commander in chief the

ſame

ſame extenſive powers, with ſimilar limitation, which had been entruſted to his predeceſſor—'Of 'doing all matters and things which were judged 'expedient and neceſſary to ſecure the liberty, 'ſafety and happineſs of the ſtate.' Hitherto the legiſlature of the ſtate had given every man the free liberty of chooſing his ſide, and retaining his property; but the conduct of the Britiſh, while they had the aſcendency in the ſtate, was ſo contrary to this humane mode of carrying on war, that on this occaſion an oppoſite line of policy was adopted.

Laws were paſſed for confiſcating the eſtates, and baniſhing the perſons of the active decided friends of Britiſh government, and for amercing the eſtates of others, as a ſubſtitution for their perſonal ſervices, of which their country had been deprived. Two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons or eſtates were included in the firſt claſs, and forty-eight in the laſt. Thoſe whoſe ſubmiſſion appeared to be neceſſary and unavoidable, and who did not voluntarily aid or abet the government of the conquerors, were generally overlooked. The reaſons that induced the aſſembly to adopt the meaſure of confiſcation are ſtated by themſelves in the preamble to the act which is in the following words: 'Whereas the thirteen 'Britiſh colonies, now the United States of Ame-'rica, were, by an act of the parliament of Great-'Britain, paſſed in or about the month of De-'cember, in the year of our Lord one thouſand 'ſeven

'ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, declared to be
'in rebellion, and out of the protection of the
'Britiſh crown; and by the ſaid act not only the
'property of the coloniſts was declared ſubject to
'ſeizure and condemnation, but divers ſeizures
'and deſtruction of their property having been
'made after the nineteenth day of April, anno
'Domini one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſe-
'venty-five; and before the paſſing of the ſaid
'act, ſuch ſeizures and deſtruction were by the
'ſaid act declared to be lawful: and whereas the
'good people of theſe ſtates having not only ſuf-
'fered great loſſes and damages by captures of
'their property on the ſea by the ſubjects of his
'Britannick majeſty, but by their ſeizing and
'carrying off much property taken on the land:
'in conſequence of ſuch proceedings of the Bri-
'tiſh crown, and thoſe acting under its authority,
'the honourable Congreſs of the United States,
'after due and mature conſideration, authorized
'the ſeizing and condemnation of all property
'found on the ſea, and belonging to the ſubjects
'of Great-Britain, and recommended to the ſe-
'veral ſtates in which ſuch ſubjects had property,
'to confiſcate the ſame for the publick uſe; all
'political connexion between Great-Britain and
'the United States having been diſſolved by the
'ſeparation of theſe ſtates from that kingdom,
'and their declaring themſelves free and inde-
'pendent of her: in purſuance of which recom-
'mendation moſt, if not all, have diſpoſed of
'ſuch property for the publick uſe. And whereas,

'notwithſtanding

'notwithſtanding this ſtate has forborne even to 'ſequeſter the profits ariſing from the eſtates of 'Britiſh ſubjects, the enemy, in violation of the 'moſt ſolemn capitulations and publick engage-'ments, by which the property of individuals 'was ſecured to them, ſeized upon, ſequeſtered 'and applied to their own uſe, not only in ſeveral 'inſtances, the profits of the eſtates, but in 'other inſtances the eſtates themſelves of the 'good citizens of this ſtate, and have commit-'ted the moſt wanton and wilful waſte of pro-'perty both real and perſonal, to a very con-'ſiderable amount.

'And whereas, from a proclamation of ſir 'Henry Clinton, declaring, that if any perſon 'ſhould appear in arms in order to prevent the 'eſtabliſhment of his Britannick majeſty's go-'vernment in this country, ſuch perſons ſhould 'be treated with the utmoſt ſeverity, and their 'eſtates be immediately ſeized in order to be con-'fiſcated: and whereas, from a letter of lord 'Rawdon to lieutenant-colonel Rugely, declaring, 'that every militiaman who did not uſe his utmoſt 'endeavours to apprehend deſerters, ſhould be 'puniſhed in ſuch manner as his lordſhip ſhould 'think adequate to ſuch offence, by whipping, 'impriſonment, or being ſent to ſerve his Britan-'nick majeſty in the Weſt-Indies. From earl 'Cornwallis's letter to lieutenant-colonel Cruger, 'bearing date the eighteenth of Auguſt, one 'thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, declaring

'that he had given orders that all the inhabitants
'who had ſubmitted, and who had taken part
'with their countrymen in the firſt action near
'Camden, although ſuch ſubmiſſion was an act
'of force or neceſſity, ſhould be puniſhed with
'the greateſt rigour—that they ſhould be impri-
'ſoned, and their whole property taken from
'them or deſtroyed—and that he had ordered,
'in the moſt poſitive manner, that every militia-
'man who had borne arms on the part of his
'Britannick majeſty, and who had afterwards
'joined his fellow-citizens, although he had been
'compelled to take up arms againſt them, ſhould
'be immediately hanged; and ordering the ſaid
'lieutenant-colonel Cruger to obey theſe directi-
'ons in the diſtrict in which he commanded, in
'the ſtricteſt manner. And, from the general
'tenor of the enemy's conduct in their wilful
'and wanton waſte and deſtruction of property
'as aforeſaid, committing to a cruel impriſon-
'ment, and even hanging, and otherwiſe putting
'to death in cold blood and an ignominious
'manner, many good citizens who had ſurren-
'dered as priſoners of war, it is evident that it
'was the fixed determination of the enemy,
'notwithſtanding their profeſſions to the contra-
'ry, to treat this ſtate as a conquered country;
'and that the inhabitants were to expect the
'utmoſt ſeverities, and to hold their lives, liber-
'ties and properties, ſolely at the will of his
'Britannick majeſty's officers.

'And

'AND it is therefore inconſiſtent with publick 'juſtice and policy to afford protection any longer 'to the property of Britiſh ſubjects, and juſt and 'reaſonable to apply the ſame towards alleviat-'ing and leſſening the burdens and expences of 'the war, which muſt otherwiſe fall very heavy 'on the diſtreſſed inhabitants of this ſtate; Be 'it therefore enacted'—

THE execution of theſe laws, ſo derogatory to the many bold promiſes of the Britiſh commanders for the ſecurity and protection of the property of their adherents, induced general Leſlie, who at that time commanded the royal forces in Carolina, to concert meaſures for their indemnification. To this end he ſent a party to ſeize the negroes and other effects belonging to the whig-citizens, with the avowed intention of applying it to the relief of the ſufferers by the confiſcation law. After a ſucceſsful excurſion of this kind, he wrote the following letter to general Greene:

'Head-Quarters, April 4, 1782.

'SIR,

'IT was with deep concern I viewed, in the 'proceedings of your laſt aſſembly, acts for amerc-'ing the property of ſome perſons, and confiſcat-'ing that of others, whoſe principles had attached 'them to the cauſe of their ſovereign. Yet, 'alarming as the publick reſolutions appeared, 'I was in hopes humanity, as well as policy,

'would

'would have arreſted their execution, and that
'I ſhould not have been compelled to take mea-
'ſures for their counteraction, injurious to the
'country, and therefore painful to me. But
'when theſe hopes were diſappointed, and I
'found the effects of the loyal and well-affected
'removed from their eſtates, and carried to parts
'far diſtant from them, I could no longer remain
'the quiet ſpectator of their diſtreſſes; but, in
'order to induce a juſter line of conduct, I have
'employed a part of the force entruſted to my
'charge for their protection, in ſeizing the ne-
'groes of your friends, that reſtitution may be
'thereby made to ſuch of ours as may ſuffer un-
'der theſe oppreſſive and ruinous reſolutions.
'This, ſir, was the object of the late excurſion
'towards Santee, and theſe principles will greatly
'mark the future operations of this army, unleſs
'a relinquiſhment of this aſſumed right on your
'part ſhould juſtify leſs deſtructive meaſures on
'mine.

'To point out to you, or the world, the diſ-
'tinction between temporary ſequeſtration and
'actual confiſcation would be impertinent; but
'it will by no means be ſo to obſerve on the op-
'poſite conduct purſued by each party in carry-
'ing into execution theſe very different meaſures;
'for whilſt you have endeavoured to involve, in
'perpetual ruin, the perſons and eſtates of thoſe
'who have differed from you in political ſenti-
'ments, I can ſafely appeal even to thoſe whoſe

'violent

'violent oppoſition to the King's government 'compelled the with-holding from them for a 'time their poſſeſſions in this province, for the 'great attention which has been invariably paid 'to their property—the connected ſtate in which 'it has been preſerved—and the liberal allow-'ances that were made to their families, inſo-'much that, while other eſtates were running to 'waſte by the diſtractions of the country, theſe 'have greatly thriven at the expence of govern-'ment.

'THUS far I have deemed it neceſſary to urge 'the motives of humanity, policy and example, 'for your ſuſpenſion of ſuch rigorous procedures; 'and ſhould you think a meeting of commiſſi-'oners on each ſide might tend to leſſen the de-'vaſtations of war, and ſecure inviolate the pro-'perty of individuals, I ſhall have a peculiar 'happineſs in embracing propoſals that may ac-'compliſh ſuch benevolent purpoſes; but if, not-'withſtanding this earneſt repreſentation, you 'ſhould ſtill perſevere in executing theſe acts of 'your aſſembly, I truſt this letter will hold me 'juſtifiable to the world for any meaſures which 'neceſſity may adopt in counteraction of ſteps 'unjuſt in their principles and perſonally diſtreſs-'ful in their conſequences; and that, whilſt I 'only endeavour to ſecure to thoſe, who with 'reſpectable ſteadineſs have attached themſelves 'to our cauſe, the full poſſeſſion of their effects, 'or, in caſe of loſſes, to provide an equitable re-

ſtitution

'ſtitution for them, I ſhall be clearly exculpated 'from all the horrors and calamities which the 'road you now point out unavoidably leads to.

'I have the honour to be,

'your moſt obedient

'and moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) 'ALEX. LESLIE.

'To major-general Greene.'

To this letter general Greene returned an immediate anſwer, 'that he had the honour to 'command the forces of the United States in 'the ſouthern department; but had nothing to 'do with the internal police of any ſtate.' On which lieutenant-general Leſlie addreſſed himſelf to governor Mathews, and encloſed the letter which had been addreſſed to general Greene, to which governor Mathews gave the following anſwer:

'April 12, 1782.

'SIR,

'I HAD the honour of receiving your letter of 'the eighth inſtant, encloſing one from you to 'major-general Greene of the fourth, and his 'anſwer to you of the ſame date.

'THE manner in which you refer to your letter 'to general Greene, obliges me to view that letter 'as now addreſſed to me. I muſt therefore beg 'leave to obſerve upon it, previous to anſwering 'the one immediately addreſſed to me.

'YOUR

'YOUR remaining ſo ſhort a time in this ſtate, 'after the ſurrender of Charleſton, and not re- 'turning to it till moſt of the ſequeſtered eſtates 'had been reſcued from the hands of your ſequeſ- 'trator, has put it out of your power to ſpeak of 'the management of them in this country from 'your own knowledge, conſequently what has 'been ſaid by you on that ſubject muſt have been 'from information. The character of general 'Leſlie has always been repreſented to me in ſo 'favourable a light, that candour forbids me to 'entertain the moſt diſtant idea of his having 'intentionally repreſented matters ſo contrary to 'fact, to anſwer even the greateſt political pur- 'poſes; but it is evident that he has been moſt 'groſsly impoſed on by men in whom he had 'confided, and that they have betrayed him into 'an aſſertion which muſt injure his feelings when- 'ever he is poſſeſſed of a true ſtate of the ma- 'nagement of thoſe eſtates that were put under 'ſequeſtration by order of lord Cornwallis.

'I WOULD not, ſir, give an haſty anſwer to 'your obſervations on this ſubject, and thought 'myſelf well juſtified in deviating from the rule 'of politeneſs in delaying an anſwer, that I might 'have an opportunity of inveſtigating truth. I 'have taken much pains in my enquiries, the 'reſult of which has been the moſt indubitable 'proofs, that ſo far from theſe ſequeſtered eſtates "having had the greateſt attention paid to them "—being preſerved in a connected ſtate—and "greatly

"greatly thriven," moſt of them, while under 'the management of your ſequeſtrator, have been 'very greatly injured; many have been nearly 'ruined, and others altogether ſo. What expence 'the Britiſh government has incurred on their 'account I know not, but, I can with confidence 'aſſert, the ſequeſtered eſtates have been very 'little benefited thereby.

'I WILL now appeal to a fact within your own 'knowledge. You know that great numbers of 'the negroes, belonging to theſe eſtates, are now 'within your lines, and loſt to their owners. 'And on few plantations is a four-footed animal 'to be found. How then do you prove that the 'eſtates have been preſerved in a connected ſtate, 'when one half of ſome, two thirds of others, 'and the whole of a few of the eſtates have been 'deprived of the negroes and ſtock that were 'upon them when put under ſequeſtration? How 'do you prove that theſe eſtates have greatly 'thriven; and that the greateſt attention has been 'paid to them?

'As to the liberal allowance made to the fa-'milies of thoſe perſons whoſe eſtates were ſe-'queſtered: this ſir, I muſt beg leave to ſay you 'have been as greatly deceived in, as the other 'parts of your information. So far from the 'wives and children having been allowed the 'ſtipulated ſums out of their huſbands' and fa-'thers' eſtates, the truth is, that after much

'entreaty

'entreaty, and in many inſtances very unbecom-
'ing treatment, ſome have obtained trifling ſums
'compared with what they were entitled to, while
'others have been altogether denied.

'On this ground of inveſtigation I am ready
'to meet you, ſir, whenever you think proper,
'when I will undertake to produce to you the
'proofs for every thing I have here advanced.

'Your obſervation on the oppoſite conduct of
'each party in carrying into execution the mea-
'ſures of ſequeſtration and confiſcation, ſo far
'from being founded in fact, evidently ſhew the
'uniform deception into which you have been led.
'In the common acceptation of the word, it is
'true, ſequeſtration means no more than a tem-
'porary privation of property; but your ſequeſ-
'trator general, and moſt of his officers, have
'conſtrued this word into a very different mean-
'ing; and, regardleſs of the articles of capitula-
'tion of Charleſton, as well as of the moſt ſacred
'contracts contained in marriage-ſettlements, eve-
'ry ſpecies of property, negroes, plate, houſe-
'hold furniture, horſes, carriages, cattle, &c.
'have been indiſcriminately torn from their own-
'ers by perſons now under your immediate com-
'mand, and have been either ſent beyond ſeas,
'for the benefit of thoſe who had taken—I had
'almoſt ſaid plundered them, or now remain
'within your lines, and in either caſe loſt to their
'owners.

'Now, ſir, let us for a moment view the conduct of the legiſlature of this ſtate in their late ſeſſion. The moſt ſacred regard has been paid by them to private contracts, neither marriage-ſettlements nor the faith of individuals have been violated, but left to their full operation. A proviſion alſo was made for the families of thoſe whoſe eſtates have been confiſcated. And although the property of Britiſh ſubjects within this ſtate has been confiſcated, yet the debts due to them from the citizens of this ſtate have been left untouched. And be aſſured, ſir, whilſt I have the honour of holding the rank I now do, it ſhall be my particular buſineſs to ſee that this, as well as every other law of the ſtate, is executed with lenity, fidelity and integrity.

'After theſe obſervations permit me, ſir, to draw your ſerious attention to a candid and impartial view of the conduct of each party on the operation of your ſequeſtration and our confiſcation acts, when I leave you at liberty and at leiſure to judge, whether you find any difference between them, and if you do, whether confiſcation on our part is likely to be productive of more ruinous conſequences to thoſe who are affected by it, than ſequeſtration on your part has been to thoſe unfortunate citizens of this ſtate who have felt its effects.

'As to the aſſumption of a right on the part of

'of the ſtate, to treat its citizens according to 'their demerits, I muſt beg leave to obſerve ſuch 'language is only calculated to irritate, and by 'no means to accompliſh the ends you aim at. 'And, ſir, if you conceive ours to be no more 'than an aſſumed right, I have every reaſon to 'ſuppoſe that no convention that can be entered 'into in the negotiation that you propoſe can be 'looked upon by you as binding, after it has 'been in the moſt ſolemn manner concluded. 'And, did I not ſuppoſe the expreſſion had in-'advertently eſcaped you, I ſhould reſt the mat-'ter here, and think no more about it. But the 'opinion I entertain of general Leſlie forbids me 'to imagine him capable of deception.

'You entirely miſtake my character when you 'ſuppoſe me to be intimidated by threats, and 'thereby deterred from executing the duties of 'the office with which the ſtate has honoured me. 'For be aſſured, ſir, the laws of this ſtate truſted 'to me muſt and ſhall be carried into execution '—maugre the conſequences.

'The powers veſted in me by the ſtate are 'very extenſive; but I ſhall ever be extremely 'cautious how I exerciſe them, and when I do 'I muſt be convinced that the exerciſe of my ex-'traordinary powers is calculated to produce 'ſome proportionate benefit to the ſtate.

'I would recommend to you, ſir, to conſider

'well

'well the conſequences before you carry into 'execution the threats you hold out; for remem. 'ber the eſtates reſerved by marriage ſettlements, 'and the debts due to thoſe who have attached 'themſelves to your cauſe, as well as the debts 'due to the ſubjects of Britain, are in my power, 'and that I can, in an hour's time, deprive them 'of every benefit to be derived to them from the 'benevolent intentions of the legiſlature of this 'ſtate. My ſenſibility would be extremely wound. 'ed, ſhould I be reduced to the painful neceſſity 'of exerciſing this power; but it reſts with you, 'ſir, whether I do or not. And I ſhall be as 'ready as you are to appeal to the world for the 'rectitude of my conduct.

'YOUR propoſition for ſuſpending the opera. 'tion of the confiſcation act, without offering 'any equivalent, is inadmiſſable. If you have 'any thing ſerious and ſolid to propoſe on this 'head, I am ready to appoint commiſſioners on 'my part to meet thoſe of yours to confer on the 'buſineſs.

'I have the honour to be,
'ſir, your moſt obedient
'and humble ſervant,
(Signed) 'JOHN MATHEWS.
'Lieutenant-general Leſlie.'

AFTER the reduction of lord Cornwallis was completed, the Pennſylvania line marched to South-Carolina. This increaſe of force enabled general

general Greene to detach a part of his army to Georgia. During the two or three preceding years, that ſtate had ſuffered, in an eminent degree, the deſolations of war. The blood of its citizens had been daily ſhed by contending parties, under the denomination of whigs and tories. Political hatred raged to ſuch a degree, that a Georgia parole, and a thruſt with the bayonet, were terms of equal import. A few of the friends of the revolution kept together in the upper country, and exerciſed the powers of independent government; and armed parties were frequently making excurſions againſt Britiſh detachments. One of the moſt ſucceſsful of this kind was on the twenty-third of March 1781, by colonel Clark, commanding a party of Georgia militia, who fell in with major Dunlap near Ninety-Six, at the head of a detachment of Britiſh troops. The major and thirty-four of his men were killed, and forty-two taken priſoners.

In January 1782 general Wayne, having previouſly ordered the Americans at Auguſta to join him at Ebenezer, croſſed the river Savannah at the Two Siſters ferry, with about a hundred dragoons, under the command of colonel Anthony-Walton White. He was ſoon after reinforced by three hundred continental infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Poſey. The Britiſh commander in Savannah, on hearing of this irruption of the Americans, ſent orders to the different poſts to burn, as far as they could,

all

all the proviſions in the country, and then to retire within their works. The margin of the river Savannah, and the iſlands in the vicinity of it, were ſoon covered with ſmoke, and preſented to the aſtoniſhed eye a grand but an awful ſpectacle. What remained of the laſt year's crop was ſo generally deſtroyed, that the American forces were obliged to depend chiefly on South-Carolina for their ſupport.

THE Britiſh garriſon at this time conſiſted of about a thouſand regulars, beſides a conſiderable number of militia, and was under the command of brigadier-general Clarke. Notwithſtanding this great ſuperiority of force, general Wayne frequently appeared before the Britiſh lines, and inſulted their picquets. Three different attempts were made to ſurprize an advanced party of the Americans commanded by lieutenant-colonel Jackſon, but none of them ſucceeded.

ABOUT this time John Martin, eſquire, governor of the ſtate of Georgia, came with his council from Auguſta to Ebenezer, and re-eſtabliſhed American government in the vicinity of the ſea-coaſt. Soon after his arrival he iſſued a proclamation, offering to every Britiſh or Heſſian ſoldier, who ſhould deſert from Savannah, two hundred acres of land, and ſome ſtock. This had, in a certain degree, the deſired effect.

ON the twenty-firſt of May 1782, colonel Brown,

Brown, at the head of a conſiderable party, marched out of the garriſon of Savannah, with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. General Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got between colonel Brown and the Britiſh garriſon in Savannah—attacked him at twelve o'clock at night, and routed his whole party. The vanguard of the Americans, conſiſting of ſixty horſe and forty infantry, was led on by colonel White of the cavalry, and captain Parker of the infantry, to a ſpirited charge, in which forty of the men, commanded by colonel Brown, were killed or wounded, about twenty taken priſoners, and the remainder obliged to ſhelter themſelves in the ſwamps under cover of the night. This advantage was gained by the liberal uſe of the ſword and bayonet. Orders had been previouſly given to depend excluſively on theſe weapons; and that this might be more punctually complied with, the flints were taken out of the muſkets of the infantry. Mr. Jonathan Brian, a reſpectable citizen of the ſtate of Georgia, though nearly eighty years of age, was among the foremoſt on this occaſion, and ſhewed as much fire and ſpirit as could be exhibited by a young ſoldier in the purſuit of military fame. In this ſucceſsful enterprize the Americans had only five privates killed and two wounded.

On the twenty-fourth of June 1782, a party of Creek Indians, with a Britiſh officer, made in the night a ſpirited attack on general Wayne.

The

The aſſailants conducted the enterprize with ſo much ſpirit and addreſs, that they got poſſeſſion of two field-pieces, which were guarded by a ſmall party in the rear of the Americans. The troops commanded by general Wayne ſoon rallied and recovered their field-pieces. A ſmart action enſued, in which they fought on both ſides in cloſe quarters with ſwords and bayonets. Though the Indians, in this unuſual mode of engaging, diſplayed uncommon bravery, yet they were completely routed. Fourteen of their number were killed. Emiſteſſigo, a famous Indian chief, was among the ſlain. The Americans carried off a Britiſh ſtandard, and a large number of horſes.

The preſence of an American force between the upper country and the garriſon in Savannah interrupted the communication between the Indians and the Britiſh. A party of the former, when on their way to Savannah with a conſiderable number of pack-horſes, and a great deal of peltry, was taken by general Wayne. Two of their number were detained as hoſtages, but the remainder was ſent home with a friendly talk and proviſions. Theſe lenient meaſures, together with the recent ſucceſſes of the Americans, had a conſiderable influence in detaching the Indians from their Britiſh friends. The ſurrender of lord Cornwallis, the ſucceſſes of general Greene in South-Carolina, together with the declining ſtate of the royal intereſt in every part of the United States, operated on the government of Great-Britain

Britain ſo as to induce a reſolution, early in the year 1782, to abandon all offenſive operations in America. Under this ſanction, on the twenty-ſecond of May 1782, general Leſlie propoſed to general Greene a ceſſation of hoſtilities; but this was declined by the latter for want of inſtructions from Congreſs on the ſubject. Nevertheleſs, there was nothing of conſequence attempted on either ſide.

In connexion with this ſyſtem of abandoning offenſive operations in America, a ſcheme was adopted of evacuating the weaker Britiſh poſts in the United States. As it had been the lot of Savannah to be the firſt ſouthern poſt which was reduced, in like manner it was the firſt which was evacuated. When this meaſure was determined upon, the merchants and others, inhabitants thereof, obtained permiſſion to apply to general Wayne for the ſecurity and preſervation of their property. To their deputies he replied, 'that, 'ſhould the Britiſh garriſon eventually effect an 'evacuation, the perſons and properties of ſuch 'inhabitants or others, who chooſe to remain in 'Savannah, will be protected by the military, 'and reſigned inviolate into the hands of the ci-'vil authority, which muſt ultimately decide.' The merchants and inhabitants of Savannah, having ſent out a ſecond flag, general Wayne, at the deſire of the civil authority of the ſtate, ſent them for anſwer, 'that the merchants, not owing 'allegiance to the United States, will be permit-

'ted to remain a reaſonable time to diſpoſe of their 'goods and ſettle their affairs.' Major Haberſham, who was charged with this meſſage, pledged himſelf that they might rely, with the utmoſt confidence, on the terms propoſed to them.

On the eleventh of July 1782 the Britiſh evacuated the town of Savannah, and the Americans immediately took poſſeſſion of it. Peace and tranquillity were reſtored to Georgia, after it had been near four years in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh. It is ſuppoſed, by well-informed perſons, that in this ſpace of time, the ſtate loſt by the war one thouſand of its citizens, beſides four thouſand ſlaves.

From the commencement of the year 1782 conſtant reports were circulated, that the Britiſh intended an immediate evacuation of Charleſton. The apprehenſion of this gave a ſerious alarm to thoſe of the inhabitants who adhered to their intereſt. There was no part of South-Carolina without the Britiſh lines which was not formally in the peace of the ſtate, excepting a ſettlement on Little Peedee. Major Ganey, at the head of ſome loyaliſts reſiding near that river, had refuſed to do militia duty under general Marion, the brigadier of the diſtrict. They defended themſelves in the ſwamps, and from thence frequently ſallied to the diſtreſs of the whig inhabitants of the adjacent country. On the twenty-eighth of April 1781 a party of them, commanded by captain

tain Jones, ſurrounded and ſet fire to the houſe of colonel Kolb, a reſpectable American militia officer. He, after receiving aſſurances of being treated as a priſoner of war, ſurrendered. Nevertheleſs he was put to inſtant death in the preſence of his wife and children. When the Britiſh had loſt ground in 1781, general Marion made a treaty of neutrality with them. In the ſummer of 1782 this was formally renewed. Though the Britiſh intereſt was entirely ruined, and their departure from Charleſton ſoon expected, ſuch was the generoſity of the government, that it gave them a full pardon for all treaſons committed againſt the ſtate, the ſecurity of their property, and the protection of the laws, on the condition of their delivering up their plunder—abjuring the King of Great-Britain, and demeaning themſelves as peaceable citizens of the ſtate. An alternative was offered to thoſe who diſapproved of theſe articles, to go within the Britiſh lines, and to carry off or ſell their property. [aaa] Theſe lenient meaſures brought over the diſaffected people of the ſettlement. Several of them not long after fought bravely under general Marion, and the whole conducted themſelves peaceably. Regularity, order and government took place of reciprocal depredations and hoſtilities.

On the propoſed evacuation of Charleſton, the merchants who came with the Britiſh were in a moſt diſagreeable predicament. They had entered

[aaa] See note LI.

ed into extenſive commercial engagements in the ſhort interval of the Britiſh ſway. Thoſe of their debtors, who were without the lines, were not ſubject to their juriſdiction; thoſe who were within were unable to pay. It was ſuppoſed that all transfers of property, by the authority of the board of police, would be null and void on the departure of the Britiſh from the ſtate. Environed with difficulties, and threatened with bankruptcy, if they ſhould leave the ſtate along with the garriſon, they applied to general Leſlie for leave to negotiate for themſelves. A deputation of their body waited on governor Mathews, and obtained from him permiſſion to reſide in South-Carolina for eighteen months after the evacuation, with the full liberty of diſpoſing of their ſtock of goods on hand, and of collecting the debts already due to them. This indulgence was extended to a longer term by the legiſlature at their next meeting, before any information arrived that the preliminary articles of peace were ſigned.

AFTER the intention of evacuating Charleſton had been announced in publick orders, general Leſlie wrote to general Greene, offering full payment for rice and other proviſions to be ſent into Charleſton, and, at the ſame time, accompanied his requeſt with a threat, that, if it was not granted for money, it ſhould be taken by force without compenſation. [bbb] Every pecuniary conſideration operated to induce the acceptance of theſe

[bbb] See note LII.

theſe offers. It would have been the means of retaining in the ſtate many thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver, beſides ſaving the country from depredation. But as it was then believed that the Britiſh meant to ſupply themſelves largely with proviſions, the better to enable them to transfer the war to the French Weſt-India Iſlands, a ſenſe of honour—of what was due to national character—and to their French allies, forbad an aſſent to the advantageous offers of general Leſlie. Every effort was made by the commander of the American army, and by the governor of the ſtate, to reſtrain the intercourſe between town and country on private account, though the neceſſities of the American army made a ſmall deviation neceſſary for the ſake of obtaining ſupplies for publick ſervice. General Leſlie, finding it impoſſible to purchaſe, ſent out parties to ſeize proviſions near the different landings, and to bring them by water to Charleſton. This was effected in ſome inſtances before the Americans could be collected in ſufficient force for the defence of their property.

One of the moſt conſiderable parties ordered on this buſineſs was ſent to Combahee ferry, where they arrived on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1782. Brigadier-general Giſt, with about three hundred cavalry and infantry, of the continental army, was detached to oppoſe them. He ſucceeded ſo far as to capture one of their ſchooners, and in a great degree to fruſtrate their deſigns. Lieutenant-

nant-colonel John Laurens, though he had been confined for ſeveral days immediately preceding, yet, on hearing of the expedition, roſe from his bed, and followed general Giſt. When the Britiſh and American detachments approached within a few miles of each other, lieutenant-colonel Laurens, being in advance with a ſmall party of regulars and militia, engaged with a much ſuperior force, in expectation of ſupport from the main body in his rear. In the midſt of his gallant exertions, this all-accompliſhed youth received a mortal wound. Nature had adorned him with a profuſion of her choiceſt gifts, to which a well-conducted education had added its moſt uſeful as well as its moſt elegant improvements. Though his fortune and family entitled him to pre-eminence, yet he was the warm friend of republican equality. Generous and liberal, his heart expanded with genuine philanthropy. Zealous for the rights of humanity, he contended that perſonal liberty was the birth-right of every human being, however diverſified by country, colour or capacity. His inſinuating addreſs, won the hearts of all his acquaintances: his ſincerity and virtue, ſecured their laſting eſteem. Acting from the moſt honourable principles—uniting the bravery and other talents of a great officer with the knowledge of a complete ſcholar, and the engaging manners of a well-bred gentleman, he was the idol of his country—the glory of the army—and an ornament of human nature. His abilities ſhone in the legiſlature and in the cabinet, as well

well as in the field, and were equal to the higheſt ſtations. His admiring country, ſenſible of his riſing merit, ſtood prepared to confer on him her moſt diſtinguiſhed honours. Cut down in the midſt of all theſe proſpects, he has left mankind to deplore the calamities of war, which, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his life, deprived ſociety of ſo invaluable a citizen.

THROUGHOUT the year 1782 the American army acted chiefly on the defenſive. A ſhort time before the evacuation, an attempt was made againſt a Britiſh detachment on James-Iſland. In this unſucceſsful enterprize captain Wilmot, a brave and worthy officer of the Maryland line, loſt his life. This was the laſt drop of blood which was ſhed in the American war.

WHEN the long-expected evacuation of Charleſton really drew nigh, it was apprehended by the inhabitants, that the Britiſh army, on its departure, would carry off with them ſome thouſands of negroes which were within their lines. To prevent this, governor Mathews wrote a letter to general Leſlie, dated Auguſt ſeventeenth, 1782, in which he informed him, 'that, if the 'property of the citizens of South-Carolina was 'carried off from its owners by the Britiſh army, 'he ſhould ſeize on the debts due to the Britiſh 'merchants—and to the confiſcated eſtates—and 'the claims on thoſe eſtates by marriage ſettle-'ments—which three articles were not included

'in

'in the confiſcation act.' This conditional reſolution operated as a check on ſome, ſo as to reſtrain their avidity for plunder, and induced general Leſlie to propoſe a negotiation, for ſecuring the property of both parties. The honourable Benjamin Guerard and Edward Rutledge, eſquires, were appointed commiſſioners in behalf of the ſtate, and Alexander Wright and James Johnſon, eſquires, in behalf of the royaliſts. After ſundry converſations, the commiſſioners on both ſides, on the tenth of October 1782, ratified a compact on this ſubject, of which the following are the principal articles:

'FIRST, That all the ſlaves of the citizens of 'South-Carolina, now in the power of the ho-'nourable lieutenant-general Leſlie, ſhall be re-'ſtored to their former owners, as far as is prac-'ticable, except ſuch ſlaves as may have rendered 'themſelves particularly obnoxious on account 'of their attachment and ſervices to the Britiſh 'troops, and ſuch as had ſpecifick promiſes of 'freedom.

'THAT the faith of the ſtate is hereby ſolemnly 'pledged, that none of the debts due to Britiſh 'merchants, or to perſons who have been ba-'niſhed, or whoſe eſtates have been confiſcated, 'or property ſecured by family ſettlements fairly 'made, or contracts relative thereto, ſhall now, 'or at any time hereafter, be arreſted or with-'held by the executive authority of the ſtate—

'that

'that no act of the legiſlature ſhall hereafter paſs 'for confiſcating or ſeizing the ſame in any man-'ner whatever, if it is in the power of the exe-'cutive to prevent it—and that its whole power 'and influence, both in its publick and private 'capacity, ſhall at all times be exerted for that 'purpoſe.

'That the ſame power ſhall be allowed for 'the recovery of the debts and property, hereby 'protected and ſecured by the parties or their 'repreſentatives, in the courts of juſtice or other-'wiſe, as the citizens of the ſtate may at any 'time be entitled unto, notwithſtanding any act 'of confiſcation or baniſhment, or any other diſ-'ability whatever—and that the ſame may be 'remitted to whatever part of the world they 'may think proper, under the ſame, and no 'other, regulations than the citizens of the ſtate 'may be ſubject to.

'That no ſlaves reſtored to their former own-'ers, by virtue of this agreement, ſhall be pu-'niſhed by authority of the ſtate for having left 'their maſters, and attached themſelves to the 'Britiſh troops; and it will be particularly re-'commended to their reſpective owners to for-'give them for the ſame.

'That no violence or inſult ſhall be offered 'to the perſons or houſes of the families of ſuch 'perſons as are obliged to leave the ſtate for their

'adherence to the Britiſh government, when the 'American army ſhall take poſſeſſion of the town, 'or at any time afterwards, as far as it is in the 'power of thoſe in authority to prevent it.

'That Edward Blake and Roger-Parker 'Saunders, eſquires, be permitted to reſide in 'Charleſton, on their parole of honour, to aſſiſt 'in the execution of the firſt article of this 'compact.'

In conſequence of this agreement governor Mathews gave a commiſſion and a flag to the honourable Thomas Ferguſon and Thomas Waring, eſquires, to reſide near the Britiſh lines, with inſtructions to receive ſuch negroes as ſhould be delivered from the garriſon. Edward Blake and Roger-Parker Saunders, eſquires, had alſo a commiſſion and a flag given them to reſide in Charleſton, and forward the delivery of the negroes to the gentlemen who were waiting to receive them without the garriſon. Governor Mathews requeſted the citizens of the ſtate to attend for the purpoſe of receiving their negroes, and earneſtly entreated that they would forgive them for having deſerted their ſervice and joined the Britiſh. Great were the expectations of the ſuffering inhabitants, that they would ſoon obtain re-poſſeſſion of their property; but theſe deluſive hopes were of ſhort duration. Notwithſtanding the ſolemnity with which the compact had been ratified,

it

it was ſo far evaded as to be in a great meaſure ineffectual for the end propoſed.

EDWARD Blake and Roger-Parker Saunders, eſquires, having waited on general Leſlie, were permitted to examine the fleet bound to St. Auguſtine; but were not ſuffered to examine any veſſel that wore the King's pendant. Inſtead of an examination the word of the commanding officer, to reſtore all the ſlaves that were on board, in violation of the compact, was offered as an equivalent. In their ſearch of the Auguſtine fleet, they found and claimed one hundred and thirty-ſix negroes. When they attended to receive them on ſhore, they were ſurprized to find no more than ſeventy-three landed for delivery. They then claimed this ſmall reſidue of the original number to be forwarded to the other commiſſioners without the lines, but they were informed by general Leſlie, that no negroes would be delivered till three ſoldiers were reſtored that had been taken by a party of general Greene's army. On that occaſion the following letter was written to Edward Blake and Roger-Parker Saunders:

'Head-Quarters, Oct. 18, 1782.

'GENTLEMEN,

'GENERAL Leſlie was much ſurprized on find-
'ing that a large patrole from general Greene's
'army, two days ago, came down ſo near our
'advanced

'advanced poſt on Charleſton Neck, as to carry 'off three ſoldiers who were a little way in the 'front. At the time this act of hoſtility was 'committed, mr. Ferguſon and another perſon 'was at Accabee, where I believe they ſtill re-'main, in expectation of receiving the negroes 'to be delivered up, without any ſanction but 'that of the agreement entered into.

'I AM directed to obſerve, that if a line of 'conduct on the part of general Greene, ſo dif-'ferent from ours, is adopted, that it muſt of 'courſe put an end to the pacifick intentions ge-'neral Leſlie means to follow in regard to this 'province, during the ſhort time he is to remain 'in it.

'HE wiſhes you will inform governor Mathews, 'that he expects the ſoldiers taken away will be 'returned, and that the governor will take pro-'per meaſures to have this requiſition complied 'with. Until this is done general Leſlie muſt be 'under the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the 'farther completion of the agreement.

'I am, gentlemen,
'your moſt obedient,
'humble ſervant,
'J. WEYMS, D. A. General.

'Roger-P. Saunders and
'Edward Blake, eſquires.'

THIS

THIS letter being forwarded to governor Mathews, he replied to it in a letter to general Leſlie, in the following words:

'SIR, 'October 19, 1782.

'I WAS a few minutes ago favoured with a letter from meſſrs. Blake and Saunders, encloſing 'one to them from major Weyms, written by 'your authority. As I do not like a ſecond-hand 'correſpondence, I therefore addreſs myſelf immediately to you.

'I ADDRESSED a letter to you this morning, 'by which you will find, that I was not even 'then without ſome apprehenſions of an intended 'evaſion of the compact entered into on the tenth 'inſtant; but on the receipt of major Weyms's 'letter, no room was left me for doubt; which 'obliges me, without giving farther trouble to 'thoſe engaged in the buſineſs, and introducing 'farther altercation between us, to declare, that 'I look on that agreement as diſſolved, and have 'accordingly ordered my commiſſioners immediately to quit your lines. But, before I take 'my final leave of you, permit me to make one 'or two obſervations on major Weyms's letter, 'as probably the whole correſpondence between 'us may one day be brought to publick view.

'ON the twelfth inſtant I wrote to you, to 'know whether perſons going to Accabee, to 'bring off their negroes when brought there, 'ſhould

'ſhould be protected from your armed parties; 'and farther, to permit me to ſend a party of 'militia to guard the negroes remaining unclaim-'ed to ſome part of the country where they 'could be ſupplied with proviſions. To this 'letter I have received no anſwer, which has 'obliged me to uſe the precaution of giving 'flags to all perſons who have applied to go to 'Accabee, as I could on no principle look on 'that ground as neutral until it had been mutu-'ally agreed on as ſuch. Indeed I was left to 'conclude the contrary was intended on your 'part, both by your tedious ſilence, and detach-'ments from your army making excurſions as 'far as Aſhley ferry, which was abſolutely the 'caſe the morning of the day that the party from 'general Greene's army took the ſoldiers you 'ſo peremptorily demand of me. And, if I am 'rightly informed, hoſtilities were commenced 'by your party. But be that as it may, I con-'ceive it of little conſequence, as either party 'had a right to commence hoſtilities on hoſtile 'ground, and between enemies every ſpot muſt 'be conſidered as ſuch until mutually agreed 'upon to be otherwiſe. Beſides, it is a well-'known fact, that there is not a day but ſome 'of your armed parties are on that very ground 'which you affect to hold neutral.

'WITH regard to meſſrs. Ferguſon and War-'ing remaining at Accabee unmoleſted: I hold 'myſelf under no manner of obligation to you

'for

'for this forbearance, as I informed you they 'were there under the ſanction of a flag—that 'they were to remain there for the purpoſe of 'receiving the negroes ſent out by the agents in 'Charleſton. They were therefore authorized 'to continue there till you ſignified the contrary 'to them. Flags from you have remained within 'half a mile of our lines for ſeveral days, even 'on private buſineſs, without the leaſt moleſtation 'whatever. Beſides, ſir, if your reaſoning, as 'far as it applies to thoſe gentlemen, proves any 'thing, it proves too much, becauſe, on the 'ſame principle, the other two commiſſioners, be-'ing in Charleſton, ought to make that neutral 'ground alſo, notwithſtanding no ſtipulation for 'that purpoſe had been entered into. I never 'interfere with general Greene's military plans, 'therefore the paragraph which relates to his 'operations ought to have been addreſſed to him; 'but I believe he pays as little regard to threats 'as I do.

'I have the honour to be

(Signed) 'JOHN MATHEWS.

'Lieutenant-general Leſlie.'

THIS was the unſucceſsful termination of a benevolent ſcheme originally calculated for mitigating the calamities of war. Motives of humanity, together with the ſacred obligation of the proviſional articles of peace, prevented the ſtate of South-Carolina from extending their confiſcation laws. Inſtead of adding to the liſt of the

the unhappy ſufferers on that ſcore, the ſucceſſive aſſemblies diminiſhed their number.

THE proſpects of gain, from the ſale of plundered negroes, were too ſeducing to be reſiſted by the officers, privates and followers of the Britiſh army. On their departure from Charleſton upwards of eight hundred ſlaves, who had been employed in the engineer department, were ſhipped off for the Weſt-Indies. It was ſaid and believed, that theſe were taken by the direction, and ſold for the benefit of lieutenant-colonel Moncrieff. The profeſſional abilities of that diſtinguiſhed officer cannot be too much applauded, nor his rapacity too much deteſted. The ſlaves carried off by the chief engineer were but a ſmall part of the whole taken away at the evacuation, but their number is very inconſiderable when compared with the thouſands that were loſt from the firſt to the laſt of the war. It has been computed by good judges, that, between the years 1775 and 1783, the ſtate of South-Carolina was deprived of negroes to the amount of twenty-five thouſand.

THE evacuation, though officially announced by general Leſlie on the ſeventh of Auguſt, as a meaſure ſoon to be adopted, did not take place till the fourteenth of December 1782. On that and the ſucceeding days the Britiſh went on board their ſhipping, and the town was entered by governor Mathews, and the American army, without

without any confuſion or diſorder. Thoſe who remained in Charleſton felt themſelves happy in being delivered from the ſeverities of a garriſon life. The exiled citizens experienced ſenſations more eaſily conceived than expreſſed, on returning to their houſes and eſtates. To crown their other bleſſings proviſional articles of peace were ſoon announced to have been ſigned at Paris, on the thirtieth of November 1782, by which the King of Great-Britain acknowledged 'the United 'States of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Con-'necticut, Rhode-Iſland, New-York, New-Jerſey, 'Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, 'North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, 'to be free, ſovereign and independent ſtates; that 'he treated with them as ſuch; and, for himſelf, 'his heirs and ſucceſſors, relinquiſhed all claim 'to the government, propriety or territorial rights 'of the ſame.' [ccc] The patriot exulted in the acknowledged independence of his country. The ſoldier rejoiced that the toils of war were ended, and the objects of it fully obtained. The farmer redoubled his induſtry, from the pleaſing conviction that the produce of his labour would be ſecured to him without any danger from Britiſh bayonets or American impreſs-warrants. Cheerfulneſs and good humour took poſſeſſion of minds that, during ſeven years, had been continually occupied with anxiety and diſtreſs. The army was ſoon after diſbanded. Such, at that time, was the ſituation of the finances of the United

[ccc] See note LIII.

States, that Congreſs was ſcarcely able to diſcharge to that virtuous army, which with the price of their blood had ſecured their independence, as much of the arrears of many years pay, as was ſufficient to defray their expences in returning to their reſpective habitations. The laurels they had dearly earned, the applauſe of their countrymen which they had eminently obtained, and the plaudits of their conſciences which they honeſtly poſſeſſed, were almoſt the only rewards they carried home, at the termination of a war in which many had injured their conſtitutions, and all had diminiſhed their fortunes. Sympathizing with the diſtreſſes of their countrymen—ſenſible of their inability to pay them their ſtipulated due—and confiding in their juſtice to make them future retribution, they cheerfully relinquiſhed the uniform of the military for the plain garb of the citizen. The private ſoldier exchanged his bayonet and firelock for the implements of huſbandry, and betook himſelf to rural occupations. Subalterns, captains, field and general officers returned with pleaſure to their ancient civil employments. No man aimed at more than the equal rights of citizenſhip; and every citizen felt himſelf free and independent.

A SPIRIT of induſtry took place. The citizens, inſtead of repining at their loſſes, generally ſet themſelves to repair them by diligence and economy. The continental officers who had ſerv-

ed

ed in the ſtate, and whoſe bravery and exertions had rendered them conſpicuous, were ſo well received by the ladies, that ſeveral of them had their gallantry rewarded by the poſſeſſion of ſome of the fineſt women and greateſt fortunes in South-Carolina. The unfortunate adherents to royal government were treated by thoſe in power with moderation and lenity. In conformity to the treaty of peace, and the recommendation of Congreſs, the legiſlature permitted the greater part of the exiles to return. Theſe were divided into three claſſes. Thirty-one were fully reſtored to their property and citizenſhip, thirty-three were diſqualified from holding any place of truſt within the ſtate for the ſpace of ſeven years, and they, with ſixty-two others, were relieved from total confiſcation on the condition of their paying twelve per cent on the equitable value of their property. Though the ſtate laboured under an immenſe load of publick debt, contracted during the war, it generouſly reſtored confiſcated property in its actual poſſeſſion, to the amount of four hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand one hundred and eleven pounds ſterling. The bleſſings of peace were diffuſed among the people, and nothing is now wanting but the ſmiles of Heaven, and their own good conduct, to make them a great and a happy republick.

NOTES.

NOTES.

NOTES.

NOTE I. PAGE 13.

A list of the Americans who were killed or wounded at the action near Beaufort, on the ninth of February 1779.

Killed.	Wounded.
Lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins,	Honourable captain Thomas Heyward,
John Fraſer,	Captain Thomas M'Laughlin,
John Craig,	Lieutenant Brown,
John Williams,	Lieutenant Sawyer,
Alexander Douglaſs,	John Calvert,
Charles Smith,	Francis Dearing,
James Heathcott,	John Righton,
Joſeph Solomon.	John Lawrence,
	John Green,

Wounded.

Wounded.	Wounded.
John Anthony,	Michael Campbell,
I. D. Miller,	Ephraim Adams,
Anthony Watts,	Samuel Howard,
John Collins,	John Graves,
Stephen Deveaux,	Thomas Feapue,
William Rea,	John Oliphant.
John Croſkeys,	

THE laſt-named in the liſt of the wounded was a private continental ſoldier—all the others were of the militia.

NOTE II. PAGE 18.

THE territory of the United States contains by computation a million of ſquare miles, in which are 640,000,000 of acres.

Deduct for water	51,000,000
Acres of land in the United States,	589,000,000 of ditto.

THAT part of the United States comprehended between the weſt temporary line of Pennſylvania on the eaſt, the boundary line between Britain and the United States extending from the river St. Croix to the north-weſt extremity of the Lake of the Woods on the north, the river Miſſiſippi to the mouth of the Ohio on the weſt, and the river Ohio on the ſouth to the aforementioned bounds of Pennſylvania, contains by computation about

about four hundred and eleven thouſand ſquare miles, in which are 263,040,000 acres.

Deduct for water	43,040,000
To be diſpoſed of by order of Congreſs,	220,000,000 of acres.

THE whole of this immenſe extent of unappropriated weſtern territory, containing, as above ſtated, 220,000,000 of acres, has been, by the ceſſion of ſome of the original thirteen ſtates, and by the treaty of peace, transferred to the federal government, and is pledged as a fund for ſinking the continental debt. It is in contemplation to divide it into new ſtates, with republican conſtitutions ſimilar to the old ſtates near the Atlantick ocean.

Eſtimate of the number of acres of water, north and weſtward of the river Ohio, within the territory of the United States.

	Acres.
IN lake Superior, - -	21,952,780
Lake of the Woods, -	1,133,800
Lake Rain, &c. - -	165,200
Red lake, - -	551,000
Lake Michigan, - -	10,368,000
Bay Puan, - -	1,216,000
Lake Huron, - -	5,009,920
Lake St. Clair, - -	89,500
Lake Erie, weſtern part, -	2,252,800
Sundry ſmall lakes and rivers,	301,000
	43,040,000

Eſtimate of the number of acres of water within the thirteen United States.

Brought forward,		43,040,000
In lake Erie, weſtward of the line extended from the north-weſt corner of Pennſylvania, due north to the boundary between the Britiſh territory and the United States, -	410,000	
In lake Ontario, -	2,390,000	
Lake Champlain,	500,000	
Cheſapeak bay, -	1,700,000	
Albermarle bay, -	330,000	
Delaware bay, -	630,000	
All the rivers within the thirteen ſtates including the Ohio, - -	2,000,000	
		7,960,000
Total,		51,000,000

THE above calculations were made from actual meaſurement of the beſt maps, by

THOMAS HUTCHINS,
geographer to the
United States.

NOTE

NOTE III. PAGE 30.

Names of American officers who were either killed or wounded in the attack on the Britiſh lines at Stono, June twentieth 1779.

CAPTAIN Hext, Lieutenant Fiſby, Lieutenant Smith, } Second battalion light infantry.

Captain Pagget, Captain Goodwin, Lieutenant Fiſhbourn, Lieutenant Hamilton, Lieutenant Pollard, } South-Carolina continental brigade.

Lieutenant Deal, Lieutenant Brown, Lieutenant Prince, } South-Carolina militia.

Colonel Roberts, Captain Mitchell, } South-Carolina artillery.

Colonel Armſtrong, Colonel Little, Major Dixon, Captain Rhodes, Lieutenant Charlton, Lieutenant Campbell, } North-Carolina continental brigade.

Captain Sheed, Captain Camplin, Lieutenant Jones, } North-Carolina militia.

Colonel de Laumoy, engineer.

Lieutenant Davie, militia horſe.

Mr. Witing, Mr. Ancrum, } Volunteers,

NOTE IV. PAGE 40.

A list of the killed and wounded officers in the attack on the lines of Savannah on the ninth of October 1779.

Killed.	Wounded.
MAJOR Motte,	Captains,
Major Wiſe,	Roux,
Major Beraud,	Rendelo,
Captain Shepherd,	Farrar,
Captain Donnom.	Giles,
	Smith,
Lieutenants,	Warren,
Hume,	Hogan,
Wickham,	Davis,
Buſh,	Treville.
Bailey.	
	Lieutenants,
Wounded.	Gray,
Brigadier-general	Petrie,
count Pulaſki,	Gaſton,
Major L'Enfant.	Deſauſure,
	Parker,
	Walker,
	Bonneau,
	Wade,
	Wilkie,
	Vleland,
	Parſons.

Volunteers, mr. Jones killed, mr. Loyd and mr. John Owen, wounded.

The

The following note was intended to be referred to from page 51, *line* 12, *but the reference was omitted by miſtake.*

THAT the American fleet abandoned the defence of the Bar, has been conſidered by ſome as a capital error. The reaſons that led to this meaſure, are laid down in the following letter, written, in anſwer to ſundry requiſitions of general Lincoln, by the ſubſcribers, the firſt four of whom were officers of the continental navy, and the remaining five branch pilots of the harbour of Charleſton:

To the honourable major-general Lincoln.

Charleſton, February 27, 1780.

Honoured ſir,

YOUR's of yeſterday we have received, and, after having carefully conſidered and attended to the ſeveral requiſitions therein contained, beg leave to return the following anſwers: at low water there are eleven feet in the channel from the bar to Five Fathom Hole. Five Fathom Hole is three miles from the bar, where you will have three fathoms at low water. They cannot be anchored until they are at that diſtance from the bar. In the place where the ſhips can be anchored, the bar cannot be covered or annoyed. Off the north Breaker Head, where the ſhips can be anchored, to moor them that they may ſwing in ſafety,

ſafety, they will be within one mile and an half of the ſhore. If any batteries are thrown up to act in conjunction with the ſhips, and the enemy's force ſhould be ſuperior, ſo much as to cauſe a retreat to be neceſſary, it will be impoſſible for us to cover or take them off. Our opinion is, that the ſhips can do the moſt effectual ſervice for the defence of the town and its ſecurity, to act in conjunction with fort Moultrie, which we think will beſt anſwer the purpoſe of the ſhips being ſent here, and conſequently, if ſo, the views of Congreſs. Our reaſons are, that the channel is ſo narrow between the fort and the middle ground, that they may be moored ſo as to rake the channel, and prevent the enemy's troops being landed to annoy the fort. The enemy, we apprehend, may be prevented from ſounding and buoying the bar by the brig General Lincoln, the ſtate brig Notre Dame, and other ſmall veſſels that may be occaſionally employed for that purpoſe. We are, with reſpect, your honour's moſt obedient humble ſervants,

ABRAHAM WHIPPLE, LUKE SWAIN,
HOYSTED HACKER, JOHN WHITAKER,
SAMUEL TUCKER, STEPHEN DUVALL,
THOMAS SIMPSON, THOMAS TUCKER.
JOHN TARRON,

NOTE

NOTE V. PAGE 59.

Copy of the ſummons ſent to major-general Lincoln the tenth of April 1780.

Camp before Charleſton, April 10, 1780.

SIR Henry Clinton, K. B. general and commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in the colonies lying on the Atlantic, from Nova-Scotia, &c. &c. and vice-admiral Arbuthnot, commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips, &c. in North-America, &c. &c. regretting the effuſion of blood, and the diſtreſſes which muſt now commence, deem it conſonant to humanity to warn the town and garriſon of Charleſton of the havock and deſolation with which they are threatened from the formidable force ſurrounding them by land and ſea. An alternative is offered at this hour to the inhabitants of ſaving their lives and property, contained in the town, or of abiding by the fatal conſequences of a cannonade and ſtorm.

SHOULD the place, in a fallacious ſecurity, or its commander, in a wanton indifference to the fate of its inhabitants, delay the ſurrender, or ſhould publick ſtores or ſhipping be deſtroyed, the reſentment of an exaſperated ſoldiery may intervene; but the ſame mild and compaſſionate offer can never be renewed.

THE

THE reſpective commanders, who hereby ſummon the town, do not apprehend ſo raſh a part as further reſiſtance will be taken; but rather that the gates will be opened, and themſelves received with a degree of confidence which will forebode further reconciliation.

(Signed) H. CLINTON,
M. ARBUTHNOT.

Copy of a letter from major-general Lincoln to general ſir Henry Clinton and vice-admiral Arbuthnot, dated Charleſton, April 10, 1780.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your ſummons of this date. Sixty days have paſſed ſince it has been known that your intentions againſt this town were hoſtile, in which time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of ſupporting it to the laſt extremity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) B. LINCOLN.
Commanding in the ſouth department.

Copy of a letter from ſir Henry Clinton to major-general Lincoln, dated camp before Charleſton, May 8, 1780.

SIR,

CIRCUMSTANCED as I now am, with reſpect to the place inveſted, humanity only can induce me

me to lay within your reach the terms I had determined ſhould not again be proffered.

The fall of fort Sullivan, the deſtruction on the ſixth inſtant of what remained of your cavalry, the critical period to which our approaches againſt the town have brought us, mark this as the term of your hopes of ſuccour, could you ever have framed any, and as an hour beyond which reſiſtance is temerity.

By this laſt ſummons, therefore, I throw to your charge whatever vindictive ſeverity exaſperated ſoldiers may inflict on the unhappy people whom you devote, by perſevering in a fruitleſs defence.

I shall expect your anſwer until eight o'clock, when hoſtilities will commence again, unleſs the town be ſurrendered.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. Clinton.

In conſequence of this letter, articles of capitulation were propoſed by major-general Lincoln, and anſwered by their excellencies general ſir Henry Clinton, knight of the bath, and vice-admiral Arbuthnot; which anſwers being deemed by general Lincoln to be inadmiſſible, he propoſed that other articles, which he then ſent, might be acceded to. Thoſe articles were rejected by ſir Henry Clinton and vice-admiral Ar-

buthnot; and on the eleventh of May major-general Lincoln wrote the following letter;

Copy of a letter from major-general Lincoln to general ſir Henry Clinton, dated Charleſton, May 11, 1780.

SIR,

THE ſame motives of humanity which inclined you to propoſe articles of capitulation to this garriſon induced me to offer thoſe I had the honour of ſending you on the eighth inſtant. They then appeared to me ſuch as I might proffer and you receive with honour to both parties. Your exceptions to them, as they principally concerned the militia and citizens, I then conceived were ſuch as could not be concurred with; but a recent application from thoſe people, wherein they expreſs a willingneſs to comply with them, and a wiſh on my part to leſſen as much as may be the diſtreſſes of war to individuals, lead me now to offer you my acceptance of them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) B. LINCOLN.

His excellency ſir Henry Clinton.

Copy of a letter from ſir Henry Clinton to major-general Lincoln, dated camp before Charleſton, May 11, 1780.

SIR,

WHEN you rejected the favourable terms which

which were dictated by an earneſt deſire to prevent the effuſion of blood, and interpoſed articles that were wholly inadmiſſible, both the admiral and myſelf were of opinion that the ſurrender of the town at diſcretion was the only condition that ſhould afterwards be attended to; but as the motives which then induced them are ſtill prevalent, I now inform you that the terms then offered will ſtill be granted

A COPY of the articles ſhall be ſent for your ratification as ſoon as they can be prepared; and immediately after they are exchanged, a detachment of grenadiers will be ſent to take poſſeſſion of the horn work oppoſite your main gate. Every arrangement which may conduce to good order in occupying the town, ſhall be ſettled before noon to-morrow, and at that time your garriſon will march out.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. CLINTON.

Major-general Lincoln.

SOUTH-

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

Articles of capitulation between their excellencies ſir Henry Clinton, knight of the bath, general and commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in the ſeveral provinces and colonies on the Atlantic, from Nova-Scotia to Weſt-Florida incluſive, Mariot Arbuthnot, eſquire, vice-admiral of the Blue, and commander in chief of all his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in North-America, and major-general Benjamin Lincoln, commander in chief in the town and harbour of Charleſton.

ARTICLE I. That all acts of hoſtility and work ſhall ceaſe between the beſiegers and the beſieged, until the articles of capitulation ſhall be agreed on, ſigned and executed, or collectively rejected.

ANSWER. All acts of hoſtility and work ſhall ceaſe, until the articles of capitulation are finally agreed to or rejected.

ARTICLE II. The town and fortifications ſhall be ſurrendered to the commander in chief of the Britiſh forces, ſuch as they now ſtand.

ANSWER. The town and fortifications, with the ſhipping at the wharves, artillery, and all other publick ſtores whatſoever, ſhall be ſurrendered in their preſent ſtate, to the commanders of the inveſting forces; proper officers ſhall attend from the reſpective departments to receive them.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE III. The continental troops and ſailors, with their baggage, ſhall be conducted to a place to be agreed on, where they will remain priſoners of war until exchanged. While priſoners they ſhall be ſupplied with good and wholeſome proviſions in ſuch quantity as is ſerved out to the troops of his Britannick majeſty.

ANSWER. Granted.

ARTICLE IV. The militia now in garriſon ſhall be permitted to return to their reſpective homes, and be ſecured in their perſons and property.

ANSWER. The militia now in garriſon ſhall be permitted to return to their reſpective homes as priſoners on parole; which parole, as long as they obſerve, ſhall ſecure them from being moleſted in their property by the Britiſh troops.

ARTICLE V. The ſick and wounded ſhall be continued under the care of their own ſurgeons, and be ſupplied with medicines, and ſuch neceſſaries as are allowed to the Britiſh hoſpitals.

ANSWER. Granted.

ARTICLE VI. The officers of the army and navy ſhall keep their horſes, ſwords, piſtols, and baggage, which ſhall not be ſearched, and retain their ſervants.

ANSWER.

ANSWER. Granted, except with reſpect to the horſes, which will not be allowed to go out of town, but may be diſpoſed of by a perſon left from each corps for that purpoſe.

ARTICLE VII. The garriſon ſhall, at an hour appointed, march out with ſhouldered arms, drums beating, and colours flying, to a place to be agreed on, where they will pile their arms.

ANSWER. The whole garriſon ſhall, at an hour to be appointed, march out of the town to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they will depoſit their arms. The drums are not to beat a Britiſh march, or colours to be uncaſed.

ARTICLE VIII. That the French conſul, his houſe, papers, and other moveable property, ſhall be protected and untouched, and a proper time granted to him for retiring to any place that may afterwards be agreed upon between him and the commander in chief of the Britiſh forces.

ANSWER. Agreed, with this reſtriction, that he is to conſider himſelf as a priſoner on parole.

ARTICLE IX. That the citizens ſhall be protected in their perſons and properties.

ANSWER. All civil officers, and the citizens who have borne arms during the ſiege, muſt be priſoners

priſoners on parole; and, with reſpect to their property in the city, ſhall have the ſame terms as are granted to the militia; and all other perſons now in the town, not deſcribed in this or any other article, are notwithſtanding underſtood to be priſoners on parole.

ARTICLE X. That a twelvemonth's time be allowed all ſuch as do not chooſe to continue under the Britiſh government to diſpoſe of their effects, real and perſonal, in the ſtate, without any moleſtation whatever, or to remove ſuch part thereof as they chooſe, as well as themſelves and families; and that, during that time, they or any of them may have it at their option to reſide occaſionally in town or country.

ANSWER. The diſcuſſion of this article of courſe cannot poſſibly be entered into at preſent.

ARTICLE XI. That the ſame protection to their perſons and properties, and the ſame time for the removal of their effects, be given to the ſubjects of France and Spain, as are required for the citizens in the preceding article.

ANSWER. The ſubjects of France and Spain ſhall have the ſame terms as are granted to the French conſul.

ARTICLE XII. That a veſſel be permitted to go

go to Philadelphia with the general's deſpatches, which are not to be opened.

ANSWER. Granted; and a proper veſſel with a flag will be provided for that purpoſe.

ALL publick papers and records muſt be carefully preſerved, and faithfully delivered to ſuch perſons as ſhall be appointed to receive them.

Done in Charleſton, May 12, 1780.

B. LINCOLN.

Done in camp, before Charleſton, May 12. 1780.

(Signed) H. CLINTON,
M. ARBUTHNOT.

NOTE VI. PAGE 86.

In Congreſs, January 2, 1779.

RESOLVED, that whereas many counterfeits have appeared in circulation, of various denominations, of the emiſſions of May twentieth, 1777, and April eleventh, 1778, and counterfeits of theſe emiſſions have lately been iſſued by our enemies at New-York, and are found to be ſpreading and increaſing faſt in various parts of theſe United States, whereby individuals are defrauded, prices enhanced, and the credit

credit of the paper currency greatly injured; and it is become neceſſary for the ſecurity of individuals, and ſafety of the publick, that thoſe two emiſſions ſhould ceaſe to be a circulating medium, and ſhould be called in and exchanged, or otherwiſe provided for as ſoon as may be, with convenience to the preſent holders: Therefore,

RESOLVED, That the following bills be taken out of circulation, namely, the whole emiſſions of May twentieth, 1777, and April eleventh, 1778.

THAT they be brought in for that purpoſe in the manner hereafter provided, by the firſt day of June next, and not afterwards redeemable.

THAT they be received for debts and taxes into the continental treaſury, and into the ſtate treaſuries for continental taxes, until the firſt day of June next.

THAT they be received until the firſt day of June next, into the continental loan-offices, either on loan, or to be exchanged at the election of the owners, for other bills of the like tenor, to be provided for that purpoſe.

THAT the bills lodged in the ſaid offices to be ſo exchanged, be there regiſtered, and indented certificates thereof given to the owners by the reſpective commiſſioners of the ſaid offices.

THAT the commiſſioners of the loan-offices make returns to the treaſury board, immediately after the firſt day of June next, of the amount of the bills received into their reſpective offices to be exchanged as aforeſaid, and that proper bills to exchange the ſame be furniſhed, and ready to be delivered out at their ſaid offices, within ſixty days from and after the ſaid firſt day of June.

THAT the firſt-mentioned bills, as they are brought into the treaſuries and loan-offices, be immediately croſſed and ſtruck through with a circular punch of one inch diameter, to be afterwards examined and burned, as Congreſs ſhall direct.

Extract from the minutes,

CHA. THOMSON, ſecretary.

NOTE VII. PAGE 93.

THESE events, though extraordinary, were not without a precedent in the annals of the province, and ought to caution the people of that country againſt a legal tender of any paper currency. In the narrative of the proceedings of South-Carolina, in the year 1719, by Francis Yonge, printed in London in 1726, page 8, are found the following words: 'The publick emer-'gencies, in the year 1715, had occaſioned the 'ſtamping the aforeſaid ſum of eighty thouſand

'pounds

'pounds in bills of credit, to pay their ſoldiers 'and other charges the country was forced to be 'at; and it was enacted by the aſſembly they 'ſhould be current in all payments between man 'and man. From whence it followed that thoſe 'who had money owing them on bond or other-'wiſe before the war, and who muſt have been 'paid in gold or ſilver, or its value, if theſe bills 'had not been made current in all payments, loſt 'ſeven-eighths of their money. Theſe loſſes fell 'chiefly on the merchants, and ſuch of the inha-'bitants of Charleſton as were monied men, and, 'on the contrary, the planters, who were their 'debtors, were the gainers.'

NOTE VIII. PAGE 96.

Circular letter from the Congreſs of the United States of America, to their conſtituents.

Friends and fellow-citizens,

IN governments raiſed on the generous principles of equal liberty, where the rulers of the ſtate are the ſervants of the people, and not the maſters of thoſe from whom they derive authority; it is their duty to inform their fellow-citizens of the ſtate of their affairs, and by evincing the propriety of publick meaſures, lead them to unite the influence of inclinations, to the force of legal obligation in rendering them ſucceſsful. This duty ceaſes not, even in times of the moſt perfect

perfect peace, order and tranquillity, when the ſafety of the commonwealth is neither endangered by force of ſeduction from abroad, or by faction, treachery, or miſguided ambition from within. At this ſeaſon, therefore, we find ourſelves in a particular manner impreſſed with a ſenſe of it, and can no longer forbear calling your attention to a ſubject much miſrepreſented, and reſpecting which dangerous as well as erroneous opinions have been held and propagated; we mean your finances.

THE ungrateful deſpotiſm and inordinate love of domination, which marked the unnatural deſigns of the Britiſh King and his venal parliament to enſlave the people of America, reduced you to the neceſſity of either aſſerting your rights by arms, or ingloriouſly paſſing under the yoke. You nobly preferred war. Armies were then to be raiſed, paid and ſupplied; money became neceſſary for theſe purpoſes. Of your own there was but little; and of no nation in the world could you then borrow. The little that was ſpread among you could be collected only by taxes, and to this end regular governments were eſſential; of theſe you were alſo deſtitute. So circumſtanced, you had no other reſource but the natural value and wealth of your fertile country. Bills were iſſued on the credit of this bank, and your faith was pledged for their redemption. After a conſiderable number of theſe had circulated, loans were ſolicited, and offices for the

purpoſe

purpoſe eſtabliſhed. Thus a national debt was unavoidably created, and the amount of it is as follows:

	Dollars.
Bills emitted and circulating,	59,948,880
Monies borrowed before the firſt of March, 1778, the intereſt of which is payable in France,	7,545,196 67-90
Monies borrowed ſince the firſt of March, 1778, the intereſt of which is payable here,	26,188,909
Money due abroad, not exactly known---the balance not having been tranſmitted, ſuppoſed about	4,000,000

For your further ſatisfaction we ſhall order a particular account of the ſeveral emiſſions, with the times limited for their redemption, and alſo of the ſeveral loans, the intereſt allowed on each, and the terms aſſigned for their payment, to be prepared and publiſhed.

The taxes have as yet brought into the treaſury no more than 3,027,560, ſo that all the monies ſupplied to Congreſs by the people of America, amount to no more than 36,761,665 dollars and ſixty-ſeven ninetieths, that being the ſum of the loans and taxes received. Judge then of the neceſſity of emiſſions, and learn from whom and from whence that neceſſity aroſe.

We

We are alſo to inform you, that on the firſt day of September inſtant, we reſolved, 'that we 'would on no account whatever emit more bills 'of credit than to make the whole amount of 'ſuch bills two hundred millions of dollars,' and as the ſum emitted and in circulation amounted to 159,648,880 dollars, and the ſum of forty millions fifty-one thouſand one hundred and twenty dollars remained to complete the two hundred millions above-mentioned, we on the third day of September inſtant, further reſolved, 'that we 'would emit ſuch part only of the ſaid ſum of '40,051,120 dollars as ſhould be abſolutely ne-'ceſſary for publick exigencies before adequate 'ſupplies could otherwiſe be obtained, relying 'for ſuch ſupplies on the exertions of the ſeveral 'ſtates.'

Exclusive of the great and ordinary expences incident to the war, the depreciation of the currency has ſo ſwelled the prices of every neceſſary article, and, of conſequence, made ſuch additions to the uſual amount of expenditures, that very conſiderable ſupplies muſt be immediately provided by loans and taxes: and we unanimouſly declare it to be eſſential to the welfare of theſe ſtates, that the taxes already called for, be paid into the continental treaſury by the time recommended for that purpoſe. It is alſo highly proper that you ſhould extend your views beyond that period, and prepare in ſeaſon as well for bringing your reſpective quotas of troops

troops into the field early in the next campaign, as for providing the ſupplies neceſſary in the courſe of it. We ſhall take care to apprize you from time to time of the ſtate of the treaſury, and to recommend the proper meaſures for ſupplying it. To keep your battalions full, to encourage loans, and to aſſeſs your taxes with prudence, collect them with firmneſs, and pay them with punctuality, is all that will be requiſite on your part. Further ways and means of providing for the publick exigencies, are now under conſideration, and will ſoon be laid before you.

HAVING thus given you a ſhort and plain ſtate of your debt, and pointed out the neceſſity of punctuality in furniſhing the ſupplies already required, we ſhall proceed to make a few remarks on the depreciation of the currency, to which we entreat your attention.

THE depreciation of bills of credit is always either natural or artificial, or both. The latter is our caſe. The moment the ſum in circulation exceeded what was neceſſary as a medium in commerce, it began and continued to depreciate in proportion as the amount of the ſurplus increaſed; and that proportion would hold good until the ſum emitted ſhould become ſo great as nearly to equal the value of the capital or ſtock, on the credit of which the bills were iſſued. Suppoſing, therefore, that 30,000,000 was neceſſary for a circulating medium, and that 160,000,000 had

iſſued,

iſſued, the natural depreciation is but little more than five to one: but the actual depreciation exceeds that proportion, and that exceſs is artificial. The natural depreciation is to be removed only by leſſening the quantity of money in circulation. It will regain its primitive value whenever it ſhall be reduced to the ſum neceſſary for a medium of commerce. This is only to be effected by loans and taxes.

THE artificial depreciation is a more ſerious ſubject, and merits minute inveſtigation. A diſtruſt, however occaſioned, entertained by the maſs of the people, in the ability or inclination of the United States to redeem their bills, is the cauſe of it. Let us enquire how far reaſon will juſtify a diſtruſt in the ability of the United States.

THE ability of the United States muſt depend on two things: firſt, the ſucceſs of the preſent revolution, and, ſecondly, on the ſufficiency of the natural wealth, value, and reſources of the country.

THAT the time has been when honeſt men might, without being chargeable with timidity, have doubted the ſucceſs of the preſent revolution, we admit; but that period is paſſed. The independence of America is now as fixed as fate, and the petulant efforts of Britain to break it down are as vain and fruitleſs as the raging of

the waves which beat againſt their cliffs. Let thoſe who are ſtill afflicted with theſe doubts conſider the character and condition of our enemies. Let them remember that we are contending againſt a kingdom crumbling into pieces; a nation without publick virtue; and a people ſold to, and betrayed by, their own repreſentatives; againſt a prince governed by his paſſions, and a miniſtry without confidence or wiſdom; againſt armies half paid, and generals half truſted; againſt a government equal only to plans of plunder, conflagration and murder—a government by the moſt impious violations of the rights of religion, juſtice, humanity and mankind, courting the vengeance of Heaven, and revolting from the protection of Providence. Againſt the fury of theſe enemies you made ſucceſsful reſiſtance, when ſingle, alone, and friendleſs, in the days of weakneſs and infancy, before your 'hands had 'been taught to war or your fingers to fight.' And can there be any reaſon to apprehend that the Divine Diſpoſer of human events, after having ſeparated us from the houſe of bondage, and led us ſafe through a ſea of blood, towards the land of liberty and promiſe, will leave the work of our political redemption unfiniſhed, and either permit us to periſh in a wilderneſs of difficulties, or ſuffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of oppreſſion, from whoſe tyranny He hath mercifully delivered us with a ſtretched-out arm.

In cloſe alliance with one of the moſt powerful nations in Europe, which has generouſly made our cauſe her own; in amity with many others, and enjoying the good-will of all, what danger have we to fear from Britain? Inſtead of acquiring acceſſions of territory by conqueſt, the limits of her empire daily contract; her fleets no longer rule the ocean, nor are her armies invincible by land. How many of her ſtandards, wreſted from the hands of her champions, are among your trophies, and have graced the triumphs of your troops? And how great is the number of thoſe, who, ſent to bind you in fetters, have become your captives, and receive their lives from your hands? In ſhort, whoever conſiders that theſe ſtates are daily increaſing in power; that their armies are become veterans; that their governments, founded in freedom, are eſtabliſhed; that their fertile country, and their affectionate ally, furniſh them with ample ſupplies; that the Spaniſh monarch, well prepared for war, with fleets and armies ready for combat, and a treaſury overflowing with wealth, has entered the liſts againſt Britain; that the other European nations, often inſulted by her pride, and alarmed by the ſtrides of her ambition, have left her to her fate; that Ireland, wearied with her oppreſſions, is panting for liberty, and even Scotland diſpleaſed and uneaſy at her edicts—Whoever conſiders theſe things, inſtead of doubting the iſſue of the war, will rejoice in the glorious, the ſure and certain proſpect of ſucceſs.

This point being eſtabliſhed, the next queſtion is, whether the natural wealth, value and reſources of the country will be equal to the payment of the debt?

Let us ſuppoſe, for the ſake of argument, that at the concluſion of the war, the emiſſions ſhould amount to 200,000,000; that excluſive of ſupplies from taxes, which will not be inconſiderable, the loans ſhould amount to 100,000,000; then the whole national debt of the United States would be 300,000,000. There are at preſent 3,000,000 of inhabitants in the thirteen ſtates; three hundred million of dollars divided among three million of people would give to each perſon one hundred dollars; and is there an individual in America unable in the courſe of eighteen or twenty years to pay it again? Suppoſe the whole debt aſſeſſed, as it ought to be, on the inhabitants in proportion to their reſpective eſtates, what would then be the ſhare of the poorer people? Perhaps not ten dollars. Beſides, as this debt will not be payable immediately, but probably twenty years allotted for it, the number of inhabitants by that time in America, will be far more than double their preſent amount. It is well known that the inhabitants of this country increaſed almoſt in the ratio of compound intereſt. By natural population they doubled every twenty years, and how great may be the hoſt of emigrants from other countries cannot be aſcertained. We have the higheſt reaſon to believe

the

the number will be immenſe. Suppoſe that only ten thouſand ſhould arrive the firſt year after the war, what will thoſe ten thouſand with their families count in twenty years time? Probably double the number. This obſervation applies with proportionable force to the emigrants of every ſucceſſive year. Thus you ſee great part of your debt will be payable not merely by the preſent number of inhabitants, but by that number ſwelled and increaſed by the natural population of the preſent inhabitants, by multitudes of emigrants daily arriving from other countries, and by the natural population of thoſe ſucceſſive emigrants, ſo that every perſon's ſhare of the debt will be conſtantly diminiſhing by others coming in to pay a proportion of it.

THESE are advantages which none but young countries enjoy. The number of inhabitants in every country in Europe, remains nearly the ſame from one century to another. No country will produce more people than it can ſubſiſt, and every country, if free and cultivated, will produce as many as it can maintain. Hence we may form ſome idea of the future population of theſe ſtates. Extenſive wilderneſſes, now ſcarcely known or explored, remain to be cultivated, and vaſt lakes and rivers, whoſe waters have for ages rolled in ſilence and obſcurity to the ocean, are yet to hear the din of induſtry, become ſubſervient to commerce, and boaſt delightful villas, gilded ſpires, and ſpacious cities riſing on their banks.

THUS

THUS much for the number of perſons to pay the debt. The next point is their ability. They who enquire how many millions of acres are contained only in the ſettled part of North-America, and how much each acre is worth, will acquire very enlarged and yet very adequate ideas of the value of this country. But thoſe who will carry their enquiries further, and learn that we heretofore paid an annual tax to Britain of three millions ſterling in the way of trade, and ſtill grew rich; that our commerce was then confined to her; that we were obliged to carry our commodities to her market, and conſequently to ſell them at her price; that we were compelled to purchaſe foreign commodities at her ſtores, and on her terms, and were forbid to eſtabliſh any manufactories incompatible with her views of gain; that in future the whole world will be open to us, and we ſhall be at liberty to purchaſe from thoſe who will ſell on the beſt terms, and to ſell to thoſe who will give the beſt prices; that as this country increaſes in number of inhabitants and cultivation, the productions of the earth will be proportionably increaſed, and the riches of the whole proportionably greater: whoever examines the force of theſe and ſimilar obſervations, muſt ſmile at the ignorance of thoſe who doubt the ability of the United States to redeem their bills.

LET it alſo be remembered that paper money is the only kind of money which cannot 'make

'unto

unto itſelf wings and fly away? It remains with us, it will not forſake us, it is always ready and at hand for the purpoſe of commerce or taxes, and every induſtrious man can find it. On the contrary, ſhould Britain like Nineveh (and for the ſame reaſon) yet find mercy, and eſcape the ſtorm ready to burſt upon her, ſhe will find her national debt in a very different ſituation. Her territory diminiſhed, her people waſted, her commerce ruined, her monopolies gone, ſhe muſt provide for the diſcharge of her immenſe debt by taxes to be paid in ſpecie, in gold or ſilver, perhaps now buried in the mines of Mexico or Peru, or ſtill concealed in the brooks and rivulets of Africa or Indoſtan.

HAVING ſhewn that there is no reaſon to doubt the ability of the United States to pay their debt, let us next enquire whether as much can be ſaid for their inclination.

UNDER this head, three things are to be attended to:

1ſt. WHETHER and in what manner the faith of the United States have been pledged for the redemption of their bills.

2d. WHETHER they have put themſelves in a political capacity to redeem them—and,

3d. WHETHER, admitting the two former propoſitions,

poſitions, there is any reaſon to apprehend a wanton violation of the publick faith.

1ſt. It muſt be evident to every man who reads the journals of Congreſs, or looks at the face of one of their bills, that Congreſs have pledged the faith of their conſtituents for the redemption of them. And it muſt be equally evident, not only that they had authority to do ſo, but that their conſtituents have actually ratified their acts, by receiving their bills, paſſing laws eſtabliſhing their currency, and puniſhing thoſe who counterfeit them. So that it may with truth be ſaid that the people have pledged their faith for the redemption of them, and that not only collectively by their repreſentatives, but individually.

2d. Whether the United States have put themſelves in a political capacity to redeem their bills, is a queſtion which calls for more full diſcuſſion.

Our enemies, as well foreign as domeſtick, have laboured to raiſe doubts on this head. They argue that the confederation of the ſtates remains yet to be perfected; that the union may be diſſolved; Congreſs be aboliſhed, and each ſtate reſuming its delegated powers, proceed in future to hold and exerciſe all the rights of ſovereignty appertaining to an independent ſtate. In ſuch an event, ſay they, the continental bills

of

of credit, created and ſupported by the union, would die with it. This poſition being aſſumed, they next proceed to aſſert this event to be probable, and in proof of it urge our diviſions, our parties, our ſeparate intereſts, diſtinct manners, former prejudices, and many other arguments equally plauſible and equally fallacious. Examine this matter.

For every purpoſe eſſential to the defence of theſe ſtates in the progreſs of the preſent war, and neceſſary to the attainment of the objects of it, theſe ſtates now are as fully, legally, and abſolutely confederated, as it is poſſible for them to be. Read the credentials of the different delegates who compoſed the Congreſs in 1774, 1775, and part of 1776. You will find that they eſtabliſhed an union for the expreſs purpoſe of oppoſing the oppreſſions of Britain, and obtaining redreſs of grievances. On the fourth of July, 1776, your repreſentatives in Congreſs, perceiving that nothing leſs than unconditional ſubmiſſion would ſatisfy our enemies, did, in the name of the people of the Thirteen United Colonies, declare them to be free and independent ſtates; and, 'for the ſupport of that declaration, with a 'firm reliance on the protection of Divine Pro'vidence, did mutually pledge to each other their 'lives, their fortunes, and their ſacred honour.' Was ever confederation more formal, more ſolemn, or explicit; it has been expreſsly aſſented to and ratified by every ſtate in the union. Accordingly,

cordingly, for the direct ſupport of this declaration, that is for the ſupport of the independence of theſe ſtates, armies have been raiſed, and bills of credit emitted, and loans made to pay and ſupply them. The redemption therefore of theſe bills, the payment of theſe debts, and the ſettlement of the accounts of the ſeveral ſtates, for expenditures or ſervices for the common benefit and in this common cauſe, are among the objects of this confederation, and conſequently while all or any of its objects remain unattained, it cannot, ſo far as it may reſpect ſuch objects, be diſſolved, conſiſtent with the laws of GOD, or man.

BUT we are perſuaded, and our enemies will find, that our union is not to end here. They are miſtaken when they ſuppoſe us kept together only by a ſenſe of preſent danger. It is a fact which they only will diſpute, that the people of theſe ſtates were never ſo cordially united as at this day. By having been obliged to mix with each other, former prejudices have worn off, and their ſeveral manners become blended. A ſenſe of common permanent intereſt, mutual affection, (having been brethren in affliction) the ties of ſanguinity daily extending, conſtant reciprocity of good offices, ſimilarity in language, in governments, and therefore in manners, the importance, weight, and ſplendour of the union, all conſpire in forming a ſtrong chain of connexion, which muſt for-ever bind us together.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands and the United Cantons of Switzerland became free and independent under circumſtances very like our's: their independence has been long eſtabliſhed, and yet their confederacies continue in full vigour. What reaſon can be aſſigned why our union ſhould be leſs laſting? or why ſhould the people of theſe ſtates be ſuppoſed leſs wiſe than the inhabitants of thoſe? You are not uninformed that a plan for a perpetual confederation has been prepared, and that twelve of the thirteen ſtates have already acceded to it. But enough has been ſaid to ſhew that for every purpoſe of the preſent war, and all things incident to it, there does at preſent exiſt a perfect ſolemn confederation, and therefore that the ſtates now are and always will be in political capacity to redeem their bills, pay their debts, and ſettle their accounts.

3d. WHETHER, admitting the ability and political capacity of the United States to redeem their bills, there is any reaſon to apprehend a wanton violation of the publick faith?

IT is with great regret and reluctance that we can prevail upon ourſelves to take the leaſt notice of a queſtion which involves in it a doubt ſo injurious to the honour and dignity of America.

THE enemy, aware that the ſtrength of America lay in the union of her citizens, and the wiſdom

wiſdom and integrity of thoſe to whom they committed the direction of their affairs, have taken unwearied pains to diſunite and alarm the people, to depreciate the abilities and virtue of their rulers, and to impair the confidence repoſed in them by their conſtituents. To this end repeated attempts have been made to draw an abſurd and fanciful line of diſtinction between the Congreſs and the people, and to create an opinion and a belief that their intereſts and views were different and oppoſed. Hence the ridiculous tales, the invidious inſinuations, and the whimſical ſuſpicions that have been forged and propagated by diſguiſed emiſſaries and traitors, in the garb of patriots. Hence has proceeded the notable diſcovery, that as the Congreſs made the money they alſo can deſtroy it; and that it will exiſt no longer than they find it convenient to permit it.

It is not ſurpriſing, that in a free country, where the tongues and pens of ſuch people are and muſt be licenſed, ſuch political hereſies ſhould be inculcated and diffuſed, but it is really aſtoniſhing, that the mind of a ſingle virtuous citizen in America ſhould be influenced by them. It certainly cannot be neceſſary to remind you, that your repreſentatives here are choſen from among yourſelves; that you are, or ought to be acquainted with their ſeveral characters; that they are ſent here to ſpeak your ſentiments, and that it is conſtantly in your power to remove ſuch

as

as do not. You ſurely are convinced, that it is no more in their power to annihilate your money than your independence, and that any act of theirs for either of thoſe purpoſes would be null and void.

We ſhould pay an ill compliment to the underſtanding and honour of every true American, were we to adduce many arguments to ſhew the baſeneſs, or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to purſue the meaſures neceſſary to preſerve it. A bankrupt faithleſs republick would be a novelty in the political world, and appear among reputable nations, like a common proſtitute among chaſte and reſpectable matrons. The pride of America revolts from the idea; her citizens know for what purpoſes theſe emiſſions were made, and have repeatedly plighted their faith for the redemption of them; they are to be found in every man's poſſeſſion, and every man is intereſted in their being redeemed; they muſt, therefore, entertain a high opinion of American credulity, who ſuppoſe the people capable of believing, on due reflection, that all America will, againſt the faith, the honour, and the intereſt of all America, be ever prevailed upon to countenance, ſupport, or permit ſo ruinous, ſo diſgraceful a meaſure. We are convinced, that the efforts and arts of our enemies will not be wanting to draw us into this humiliating and contemptible ſituation. Impelled by malice, and the ſuggeſtions of chagrin and

and diſappointment at not being able to bend our necks to their yoke, they will endeavour to force or ſeduce us to commit this unpardonable ſin, in order to ſubject us to the puniſhment due to it, and that we may thenceforth be a reproach and a bye-word among the nations. Apprized of theſe conſequences, knowing the value of national character, and impreſſed with a due ſenſe of the immutable laws of juſtice and honour, it is impoſſible that America ſhould think without horror of ſuch an execrable deed.

If then neither our ability or inclination to diſcharge the publick debt, are juſtly queſtionable, let our conduct correſpond with this confidence, and let us reſcue our credit from its preſent imputations. Had the attention of America to this object been unremitted, had taxes been ſeaſonably impoſed and collected, had proper loans been made, had laws been paſſed, and executed for puniſhing thoſe who maliciouſly endeavoured to injure the publick credit; had theſe and many other things equally neceſſary been done, and had our currency, notwithſtanding all theſe efforts, declined to its preſent degree of depreciation, our caſe would indeed have been deplorable. But as theſe exertions have not been made, we may yet experience the good effects which naturally reſult from them. Our former negligences therefore ſhould now animate us with hope, and teach us not to deſpair of removing by

by vigilance and application the evils which ſupineneſs and inattention have produced.

It has been already obſerved, that in order to prevent the further natural depreciation of our bills, we have reſolved to ſtop the preſs, and to call upon you for ſupplies by loans and taxes. You are in capacity to afford them, and are bound by the ſtrongeſt ties to do it. Leave us not, therefore, without ſupplies, nor let in that flood of evils which would follow from ſuch neglect. It would be an event moſt grateful to our enemies, and depend upon it, they will redouble their artifices and induſtry to compaſs it. Be therefore upon your guard, and examine well the policy of every meaſure, and the evidence of every report that may be propoſed or mentioned to you before you adopt the one or believe the other. Recollect that it is the price of the liberty, the peace and the ſafety of yourſelves and poſterity, that now is required;—that peace, liberty and ſafety, for the attainment and ſecurity of which, you have ſo often and ſo ſolemnly declared your readineſs to ſacrifice your lives and fortunes. The war, though drawing faſt to a ſucceſsful iſſue, ſtill rages. Diſdain to leave the whole buſineſs of your defence to your ally. Be mindful that the brighteſt proſpects may be clouded, and that prudence bids us be prepared for every event. Provide, therefore, for continuing your armies in the field till victory and peace ſhall lead them home, and avoid the reproach of permitting

mitting the currency to depreciate in your hands, when, by yielding a part to taxes and loans, the whole might have been appreciated and preſerved. Humanity as well as juſtice makes this demand upon you, the complaints of ruined widows, and the cries of fatherleſs children, whoſe whole ſupport has been placed in your hands and melted away, have doubtleſs reached you—take care that they aſcend no higher. Rouſe, therefore; ſtrive who ſhall do moſt for his country; re-kindle that flame of patriotiſm, which, at the mention of diſgrace and ſlavery, blazed throughout America, and animated all her citizens. Determine to finiſh the conteſt as you began it, honeſtly and glorioufly.—Let it never be ſaid that America had no ſooner become independent, than ſhe became inſolvent, or that her infant glories and growing fame were obſcured and tarniſhed by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and almoſt adoring the ſplendour of her riſing.

By the unanimous order of Congreſs,

JOHN JAY, preſident.

Philadelphia, Sept. 13, 1779.

NOTE

NOTE IX. PAGE 110.

Waxhaws, May 30, 1780.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that yeſterday at three o'clock, P. M. after a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, with the corps of cavalry, the infantry of the legion, mounted on horſes, and a three-pounder, at Waxhaws, near the line which divides North from South-Carolina, the rebel force, commanded by colonel Buford, conſiſting of the eleventh Virginia and detachments of other regiments, from the ſame province, with artillery, and ſome cavalry, were brought to action.

AFTER the ſummons, in which terms ſimilar to thoſe accepted by Charleſton were offered and poſitively rejected, the action commenced in a wood; the attacks were pointed at both flanks; the front and reſerve by two hundred and ſeventy cavalry and infantry blended; and, at the ſame inſtant, all were equally victorious, few of the enemy eſcaping, except the commanding officer by a precipitate flight on horſeback.

IT is above my ability to ſay any thing in commendation of the bravery and exertion of officers and

and men. I leave their merit to your lordſhip's conſideration.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BAN. TARLETON,
Lieutenant-colonel comm. B. legion.

Lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis.

Return of rebels killed, wounded and taken, in the affair at Waxhaws, the twenty-ninth of May, 1780.

ONE lieutenant-colonel, three captains, eight ſubalterns, one adjutant, one quartermaſter, ninety-nine ſerjeants and rank and file, killed.

THREE captains, five ſubalterns, one hundred and forty-two ſerjeants and rank and file, wounded, unable to travel, and left on parole.

TWO captains, one ſubaltern, fifty ſerjeants and rank and file, priſoners.

TAKEN, three ſtand of colours, two braſs ſix-pounders, two royals, two waggons with ammunition, one artillery forge-cart, fifty-five barrels of powder, twenty-ſix waggons loaded with new clothing, arms, muſket-cartridges, new cartridge-boxes, flints, and camp equipage.

(Signed) BAN. TARLETON,
Lieutenant-colonel comm. B. legion.

Return of Britiſh killed and wounded in the affair at Waxhaws, the twenty-ninth of May, 1780.

CAVALRY. Two privates, eleven horſes killed; one ſubaltern, eight privates, nineteen horſes, wounded.

INFANTRY. Two ſubalterns, one private, killed; three privates, wounded.

N. B. LIEUTENANT Pateſchall, ſeventeenth dragoons, wounded; lieutenant Lauchlin M'Donald, of the legion infantry, killed; enſign Campbell, of the legion infantry, ſerving with the cavalry, killed.

(Signed) B. TARLETON.
Lieutenant-colonel comm. B. L.

NOTE X. PAGE 110.

Camden, June 2, 1780.

SIR,

IN my letter of the thirtieth of laſt month, I encloſed a note from lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, wrote in great haſte from the field of action, and I explained my reaſons for ſending the detachment under his command in purſuit of the enemy.

I HAVE now the honour of tranſmitting to you his account of the march and engagement, with the loſs on both ſides.

I

I CAN only add the higheſt encomiums on the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. It will give me the moſt ſenſible ſatisfaction to hear that your excellency has been able to obtain for him ſome diſtinguiſhed mark of his majeſty's favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

His excellency ſir Henry
Clinton, K. B. &c.

NOTE XI. PAGE 110.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By his excellency ſir Henry Clinton, knight of the moſt honourable order of the bath, general commander in chief of all his majeſty's forces within the colonies lying on the Atlantic ocean, from Nova-Scotia to Weſt-Florida incluſive.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, notwithſtanding the gracious offers, which have been made to receive to his majeſty's peace and protection, with pardon and oblivion for their paſt offences, all thoſe his deluded and infatuated ſubjects, who ſhould return to their duty, and a due obedience to the laws; yet there are ſome wicked and deſperate men, who, regardleſs of the ruin and miſery in which the country will be involved, are ſtill endeavouring to ſupport the flame of rebellion, and,

under

under pretence of authority derived from the late uſurped legiſlatures, are attempting, by enormous fines, grievous impriſonments, and ſanguinary puniſhments, to compel his majeſty's faithful and unwilling ſubjects to take up arms againſt his authority and government; and it is therefore become neceſſary, as well for the protection of the loyal ſubjects, as to procure the eſtabliſhment of peace and good government in the country, to prevent, by the terror of example, ſuch enormous offences being committed in future; I have therefore thought fit to iſſue this my proclamation to declare, that if any perſon ſhall hereafter appear in arms, in order to prevent the eſtabliſhment of his majeſty's government in this country, or ſhall, under any pretence or authority whatſoever, attempt to compel any other perſon or perſons to do ſo, or who ſhall hinder or intimidate, or attempt to hinder or intimidate, the King's faithful and loyal ſubjects from joining his forces, or otherwiſe performing thoſe duties their allegiance requires, ſuch perſon or perſons ſo offending ſhall be treated with that ſeverity ſo hardened and criminal an obſtinacy will deſerve, and his or their eſtates will be immediately ſeized in order to be confiſcated. And for the encouragement of the King's faithful and peaceable ſubjects, I do again aſſure them, that they ſhall meet with effectual countenance, protection and ſupport; and whenever the ſituation of the country will permit of the reſtoration of civil government and peace, they will, by the commiſſioners appointed

pointed by his majeſty for that purpoſe, be reſtored to the full poſſeſſion of that liberty in their perſons and property, which they had before experienced under the Britiſh government. And that ſo deſirable an event may be the more ſpeedily accompliſhed, I do hereby, in his majeſty's name, require and command all perſons whatſoever to be aiding and aſſiſting to his forces, whenever they ſhall be required, in order to extirpate the rebellion, and thereby reſtore peace and proſperity to this, at preſent, deſolated and diſtracted country.

Given under my hand, at head-quarters, in Charleſton, the 22d day of May, 1780.

(Signed) H. CLINTON.

By his excellency's command,

(Signed) Nathaniel Philips,
Aſſiſting ſecretary.

NOTE

NOTE XII. PAGE 111.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By ſir Henry Clinton, knight of the bath, general of his majeſty's forces, and Mariot Arbuthnot, eſquire, vice-admiral of the Blue, his majeſty's commiſſioners to reſtore peace and good government in the ſeveral colonies in rebellion in North-America.

PROCLAMATION.

HIS majeſty having been pleaſed by his letters patent, under the Great Seal of Great-Britain, to appoint us to be his commiſſioners, to reſtore the bleſſings of peace and liberty to the ſeveral colonies in rebellion in America, we do hereby make publick his moſt gracious intentions, and in obedience to his commands, do declare, to ſuch of his deluded ſubjects, as have been perverted from their duty by the factious arts of ſelf-intereſted and ambitious men, that they will ſtill be received with mercy and forgiveneſs, if they immediately return to their allegiance, and a due obedience to thoſe laws and that government which they formerly boaſted was their beſt birthright and nobleſt inheritance, and upon a due experience of the ſincerity of their profeſſions, a full and free pardon will be granted for the treaſonable offences which they have heretofore committed, in ſuch manner and form as his majeſty's commiſſion doth direct.

NEVERTHELESS,

NEVERTHELESS, it is only to thoſe, who, convinced of their errors, are firmly reſolved to return and to ſupport that government under which they were formerly ſo happy and free, that theſe gracious offers are once more renewed, and therefore thoſe perſons are excepted, who, notwithſtanding their preſent hopeleſs ſituation, and regardleſs of the accumulating preſſure of the miſeries of the people, which their infatuated conduct muſt contribute to increaſe, are nevertheleſs ſtill ſo hardened in their guilt, as to endeavour to keep alive the flame of rebellion in this province, which will otherwiſe ſoon be reinſtated in its former proſperity, ſecurity and peace.

NOR can we at preſent reſolve to extend the royal clemency to thoſe who are polluted with the blood of their fellow-citizens, moſt wantonly and inhumanly ſhed under the mock forms of juſtice, becauſe they refuſed ſubmiſſion to an uſurpation, which they abhorred, and would not oppoſe that government with which they deemed themſelves inſeparably connected: and in order to give quiet and content to the minds of his majeſty's faithful and well-affected ſubjects, we do again aſſure them, that they ſhall have effectual countenance, protection and ſupport, and, as ſoon as the ſituation of the province will admit, the inhabitants will be re-inſtated in the poſſeſſion of all thoſe rights and immunities which they heretofore enjoyed under a free Britiſh government,

ment, exempt from taxation, except by their own legiſlature: and we do hereby call upon all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to be aiding with their endeavours, in order that a meaſure ſo conducive to their own happineſs, and the welfare and proſperity of the province, may be the more ſpeedily and eaſily attained.

Given under our hands and ſeals, at Charleſton, the firſt day of June, in the twentieth year of his majeſty's reign, and in the year of our LORD, 1780.

H. CLINTON,
M. ARBUTHNOT.

By their excellencies command,

JAMES SIMPSON, ſecretary.

NOTE

NOTE XIII. PAGE 116.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By his excellency ſir Henry Clinton, knight of the moſt honourable order of the bath, general and commander in chief of all his majeſty's forces within the colonies lying on the Atlantic ocean, from Nova-Scotia to Weſt-Florida incluſive, &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, after the arrival of his majeſty's forces under my command in this province in February laſt, numbers of perſons were made priſoners by the army, or voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves as ſuch, and ſuch perſons were afterwards diſmiſſed on their reſpective paroles: and whereas, ſince the ſurrender of Charleſton, and the defeats and diſperſion of the rebel forces, it is become unneceſſary that ſuch paroles ſhould be any longer obſerved; and proper that all perſons ſhould take an active part in ſettling and ſecuring his majeſty's government, and delivering the country from that anarchy which for ſome time paſt hath prevailed; I do therefore iſſue this my proclamation to declare, that all the inhabitants of this province, who are now priſoners upon parole and were not in the military line (thoſe who were in fort Moultrie and Charleſton at the times of their capitulation and

ſurrender, or were then in actual confinement, excepted) that, from and after the twentieth day of June inſtant, they are freed and exempted from all ſuch paroles, and may hold themſelves as reſtored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants.

And all perſons under the deſcription beforementioned, who ſhall afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his majeſty's government, will be conſidered as enemies and rebels to the ſame, and treated accordingly.

Given under my hand, at headquarters in Charleſton, the third day of June, 1780, and in the twentieth year of his majeſty's reign.

(Signed) H. Clinton.

By his excellency's command,

(Signed) Peter Russel,
Aſſiſting ſecretary.

NOTE

NOTE XIV. PAGE 118.

To their excellencies ſir Henry Clinton, knight of the bath, general of his majeſty's forces, and Mariot Arbuthnot, eſquire, vice-admiral of the Blue, his majeſty's commiſſioners to reſtore peace and good government in the ſeveral colonies in rebellion in North-America.

The humble addreſs of divers inhabitants of Charleſton.

THE inhabitants of Charleſton, by the articles of capitulation, are declared priſoners on parole; but we the under-written, having every inducement to return to our allegiance, and ardently hoping ſpeedily to be re-admitted to the character and condition of Britiſh ſubjects, take this opportunity of tendering to your excellencies our warmeſt congratulations on the reſtoration of this capital and province to their political connexion with the crown and government of Great-Britain; an event which will add luſtre to your excellencies characters, and, we truſt, entitle you to the moſt diſtinguiſhing mark of the royal favour. Although the right of taxing America in parliament, excited conſiderable ferments in the minds of the people of this province, yet it may, with a religious adherence to truth, be affirmed, that they did not entertain the moſt diſtant thought of diſſolving the union that ſo happily ſubſiſted between them and their parent

parent country; and when, in the progreſs of that fatal controverſy, the doctrines of independency (which originated in the more northern colonies) made its appearance among us, our nature revolted at the idea, and we look back with the moſt painful regret on thoſe convulſions that gave exiſtence to a power of ſubverting a conſtitution, for which we always had, and ever ſhall retain, the moſt profound veneration, and ſubſtituting in its ſtead a rank democracy, which however carefully digeſted in theory, on being reduced into practice, has exhibited a ſyſtem of tyrannick domination, only to be found among the uncivilized part of mankind, or in the hiſtory of the dark and barbarous ages of antiquity.

We ſincerely lament, that after the repeal of thoſe ſtatutes, which gave riſe to the troubles in America, the overtures made by his majeſty's commiſſioners, from time to time, were not regarded by our late rulers. To this fatal inattention are to be attributed thoſe calamities which have involved our country in a ſtate of miſery and ruin, from which, however, we truſt, it will ſoon emerge, by the wiſdom and clemency of his majeſty's auſpicious government, and the influence of prudential laws, adapted to the nature of the evils we labour under; and that the people will be reſtored to thoſe privileges, in the enjoyment whereof their former felicity conſiſted.

Animated with theſe hopes, we entreat your excellencies

excellencies interpoſition in aſſuring his majeſty, that we ſhall glory in every occaſion of manifeſting that zeal and affection for his perſon and government, with which gratitude can inſpire a free and joyful people.

Charleſton, June 5, 1780.

[SIGNED by two hundred and ten of the principal inhabitants.]

NOTE XV. PAGE 120.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By the right honourable Charles earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it hath been repreſented unto me, that ſome of the inhabitants of this province have endeavoured to diſpoſe of great part of their property, and intended to remove with their effects out of the limits of his majeſty's government, whereby the merchants in Great-Britain, and other lawful creditors, may be greatly injured and defrauded of the juſt debts which are due to them; and, for many other reaſons, the ſame ought not at preſent to be permitted: I do therefore, by this my proclamation, ſtrictly forbid all perſons whatever, from ſelling or diſpoſing of, or from offering to ſale or diſpoſal, any lands,

lands, houſes or negroes, without having firſt obtained a licenſe ſo to do from the commandant of Charleſton, who, in fit and reaſonable caſes, will grant the ſame; and all houſes, lands or negroes, which ſhall hereafter be ſold or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, without ſuch licenſe, will be ſeized and ſequeſtered. And whereas the privileges and advantages incident to the trade and commerce which is carried on in this province, are by law limited to, and ought to be excluſively enjoyed by, his majeſty's liege and faithful ſubjects; yet, nevertheleſs, perſons who are priſoners have preſumed to interfere therein, and have opened ſhops for the purpoſe of carrying on trade and commerce in Charleſton; all ſuch perſons are hereby cautioned againſt continuing ſuch practices, and if, in future, they do not deſiſt therefrom, their goods and merchandize will be ſeized and forfeited; and all auctioneers and vendue-maſters, or other perſons, are hereby ſtrictly enjoined from carrying on any trade, or ſelling or diſpoſing of any goods, wares or merchandize, on account of, or for the benefit of ſuch perſons, upon pain of having their licenſe taken from them, or being otherwiſe dealt with, according to the nature of the caſe. Provided nevertheleſs, that nothing is hereby to be conſtrued to extend to prevent bakers, butchers, or any handicraft tradeſman, manufacturer, or labourer, from exerciſing or carrying on their uſual and accuſtomed occupations and employments. And as ſundry perſons may clandeſtinely withdraw themſelves from

from this province, to the prejudice of his majeſty's ſervice, and injury of their lawful creditors, I do hereby, in the moſt ſtrict manner, prohibit and forbid all maſters of tranſports, or other veſſels employed in his majeſty's ſervice, from receiving on board, or carrying away any perſons whatever, either white or black, except the crew they brought with them, unleſs they ſhall receive a written paſſport or permiſſion from the commandant at Charleſton for that purpoſe. And the more effectually to prevent the ſame being done in the veſſels employed in the trade and commerce of the country, the maſters of all ſuch veſſels are hereby ordered to comply with the directions ſpecified in two acts of the general aſſembly of this province, the one entitled, 'An 'act for the entry of veſſels;' and the other, 'An 'additional act to an act for the entry of veſſels,' upon pain of being proſecuted for the penalties inflicted by the ſaid acts, in caſe of their neglect or refuſal.

Given under my hand at Charleſton, the twenty-fifth day of July, Anno Dom. one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, and in the twentieth year of his majeſty's reign.

CORNWALLIS.

By his lordſhip's command,
A. Ross, aid-de-camp.

NOTE

NOTE XVI. PAGE 121.

Philadelphia, Auguſt 12.

In Congreſs, June 25, 1780.

WHEREAS it has been reported, in order to ſeduce the ſtates of South-Carolina and Georgia from their allegiance to theſe United States, that a treaty of peace between America and Great-Britain was about to take place, in which thoſe two ſtates would be ceded to Great-Britain;

RESOLVED unanimouſly, that the ſaid report is inſidious, and utterly void of foundation; that this confederacy is moſt ſacredly pledged to ſupport the liberty and independency of every one of its members, and, in a firm reliance on the Divine bleſſing, will unremittingly perſevere in their exertions for the eſtabliſhment of the ſame, and for the recovery and preſervation of any and every part of theſe United States, that has been, or may hereafter be invaded or poſſeſſed by the common enemy.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, ſecretary.

NOTE

NOTE XVII. PAGE 145.

Charleſton, Auguſt 29.

Copy of a proclamation iſſued by general Gates, at Peedee, the fourth inſtant.

By Horatio Gates, eſquire, major-general and commander in chief of the army of the United States in the ſouthern department of America, &c. &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

THE patriotick exertions of the virtuous citizens of the United States having enabled me, under the protection of Divine Providence, to vindicate the rights of America in this ſtate, and by the approach of a numerous, well-appointed, and formidable army, to compel our late triumphant and inſulting foes to retreat from their moſt advantageous poſts, with precipitation and diſmay; I have judged it moſt expedient, at this period of my progreſs, to give aſſurances of forgiveneſs and perfect ſecurity to ſuch of the unfortunate citizens of this ſtate, as have been induced by the terror of ſanguinary puniſhments, the menace of confiſcation, and all the arbitrary meaſures of military domination, apparently to acquieſce under the Britiſh government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and ſupport to a tyranny, which the indignant ſouls of citizens

citizens reſolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at, with horror and deteſtation.

And in order to afford an opportunity to the real friends of America to teſtify their affection and attachment to the cauſe of liberty, an invitation is hereby held out to them to aſſert that rank among the free and independent citizens of America, in which their former exertions and zeal had deſervedly placed them, and to join heartily, when called upon, in reſcuing themſelves and their country from an oppoſition of a government impoſed on them by the ruffian hand of conqueſt. Nevertheleſs, I cannot at preſent reſolve to extend theſe offers of pardon and ſecurity to ſuch, as in the hour of devaſtation, have exerciſed acts of barbarity and depredation on the perſons and property of their fellow-citizens; nor to ſuch, as being apprized of the ſecurity afforded to them by the army under my command, ſhall be ſo loſt to a ſenſe of honour and the duty they owe to their country, as hereafter to give countenance and ſupport to that enemy, who, but for the diſaffection of many of the apoſtate ſons of America, had long ere this been driven from the continent.

The inhabitants of this ſtate may rely on the aſſurance that an army compoſed of their brethren and fellow-citizens cannot be brought among them with the hoſtile vices of plunder and depredation. Such triumphs, under the colour

lour of protection and ſupport, are left to grace the Britiſh arms alone: but they may reſt ſatisfied, that the genuine motive which has given energy to the preſent exertions, is the hope of reſcuing them from the iron rod of oppreſſion, and reſtoring to them thoſe bleſſings of freedom and independence which it is the duty and intereſt of the citizens of theſe United States, jointly and reciprocally, to ſupport and confirm.

Given at head-quarters, on the river Peedee, this fourth day of Auguſt, in the year of our LORD one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, and in the fifth year of our independence.

HORATIO GATES.

By the general's command,

CHRIST. RICHMOND, ſecretary.

NOTE XVIII. PAGE 149.

A copy of a letter to generals Smallwood and Giſt, from the chevalier Du-Buyſſon.

Charlotte, Auguſt 26, 1780.

Dear generals,

HAVING received ſeveral wounds in the action of the ſixteenth inſtant, I was made priſoner with the honourable major-general the Baron

Baron de Kalb, with whom I ſerved as aid-de-camp and friend, and had an opportunity of attending that great and good officer during the ſhort time he languiſhed with eleven wounds, which proved mortal on the third day.

It is with pleaſure I obey the baron's laſt commands, in preſenting his moſt affectionate compliments to all the officers and men of his diviſion; he expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction in the teſtimony given by the Britiſh army of the bravery of his troops, and he was charmed with the firm oppoſition they made to ſuperior force, when abandoned by the reſt of the army. The gallant behaviour of the Delaware regiment and the companies of artillery attached to the brigades afforded him infinite pleaſure, and the exemplary conduct of the whole diviſion gave him an endearing ſenſe of the merit of the troops he had the honour to command.

I am, dear generals,
with regard and reſpect,
your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
LE CHEVALIER DU-BUYSSON.

To brigadier-generals
Smallwood and Giſt.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of Congreſs be given to the brigadiers Smallwood and Giſt, and to the officers and regular troops of Maryland and Delaware; to the different corps of light infantry, under colonel Porterfield and major Armſtrong,

Armſtrong, and to the cavalry under colonel Armand, for the bravery and good conduct which they diſplayed in the action of the ſixteenth of Auguſt laſt, near Camden, in the ſtate of South-Carolina.

NOTE XIX. PAGE 150.

CONGRESS having reſumed the conſideration of the report of the committee to which general Gates's letter had been referred, for the purpoſe of decreeing the honours due to the memory of major-general Baron de Kalb, and the other officers and ſoldiers, it was

RESOLVED, that a monument be erected to the memory of the deceaſed major-general Baron de Kalb, in the town of Annapolis, in the ſtate of Maryland, with the following inſcription:

'SACRED to the memory of the Baron de Kalb, 'knight of the royal order of military merit, bri-'gadier of the armies of France, and major-ge-'neral in the ſervice of the United States of 'America. Having ſerved with honour and re-'putation for three years, he gave a laſt and 'glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties 'of mankind, and to the cauſe of America, in 'the action near Camden, in the ſtate of South-'Carolina, where, leading on the regular troops 'of Maryland and Delaware againſt ſuperior 'forces,

'forces, and animating them by his example to 'deeds of valour, he was wounded in ſeveral 'places, and died the nineteenth of Auguſt fol- 'lowing, in the forty-eighth year of his age. The 'Congreſs of the United States of America, in 'acknowledgment of his zeal, of his ſervices, and 'of his merit, hath erected this monument.'

NOTE XX. PAGE 153.

Liſt of continental officers killed, captivated, wounded and miſſing, in the actions of the ſixteenth and eighteenth of Auguſt, 1780.

KILLED. The honourable major-general the Baron de Kalb; captain Williams, ſixth Maryland regiment; captain Duvall, ſecond do. lieutenant Donovan, ſixth ditto; lieutenant and adjutant Coleman, artillery.

WOUNDED. Captain Somervell, ſixth Maryland regiment; Gibſon, fifth ditto; Roan, Virginia ſtate artillery; lieutenant Duvall, third Maryland regiment; Sears ditto; enſign Fickle, ſeventh.

PRISONERS. Lieutenant-colonel Woolford, fifth Maryland regiment, wounded; lieutenant-colonel Vaughan, Delaware; lieutenant-colonel Porterfield, Virginia ſtate, wounded; lieutenant-colonel Du-Buyſſon, aid-de-camp to general de Kalb, ditto; majors Winder, firſt Maryland regiment; Penton,

Penton, Delaware regiment; Pinckney, aid-de-camp to general Gates, wounded; captains Brice, third Maryland regiment; Hoops, fifth ditto; Lynch, fifth, Hamilton, fifth, Hardman, ſecond, wounded; Smith, third ditto; Dorſet, artillery, ditto; lieutenant Brune, legion, ditto; Rhoads, Delaware regiment; Lamout, ditto; captain-lieutenant Waters, artillery; lieutenant Shoemaker, fourth, Maryland regiment, wounded; Hanſon, fourth, ditto ditto; Norris, ſixth ditto ditto; Wallace, artillery; Foot, legion; Moſely, artillery; Doll, Delaware regiment; Skillington, ditto; lieutenant and adjutant Penvie, ditto; enſigns, Burgis, fourth Maryland regiment; Roach, Delaware regiment; volunteers, Nelſon, ſixth Maryland regiment, wounded; Rutledge, fourth ditto.

MISSING. Captains Morris, ſeventh Maryland regiment, wounded; Gaſſay, ſecond ditto; lieutenant Gaſſaway, ſecond ditto; captain Meredith, artillery, captain-lieutenant Blair, ditto.

SIR,

THE above is the moſt accurate return at preſent—thoſe who have received ſlight contuſions, which do not hinder their doing duty, are not included.

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

O. H. WILLIAMS.

Hillſborough, Auguſt 29, 1780.

Major-general Gates.

NOTE

NOTE XXI. PAGE 154.

Copy of general Gates's orders.
After orders.

Camp, at Rugely's, 15th Aug. 1780.

THE ſick, the extra artillery ſtores, the heavy baggage, and ſuch quartermaſters ſtores as are not immediately wanted, to march this evening under a guard to Waxhaws; to this order the general requeſts the brigadier-generals to ſee that thoſe under their command pay the moſt exact and ſcrupulous obedience.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL Edmonds, with the remaining guns of the park, will take poſt, and march with the Virginia brigade under general Stevens; he will direct, as any deficiency happens in the artillery affixed to the other brigades, to ſupply it immediately; his military ſtaffs, and proportion of his officers, with forty of his men, are to attend him and wait his orders.

THE troops will be ready to march preciſely at ten o'clock, in the following order, viz. colonel Armand's advance, cavalry commanded by colonel Armand: colonel Porterfield's light infantry on the right flank of colonel Armand's, in Indian file, two hundred yards from the road; major Armſtrong's light infantry in the ſame order as colonel Porterfield's on the left flank of the

the legion; advance guard of foot, compoſed of the advanced picquets, firſt brigade of Maryland, ſecond brigade of Maryland, diviſion of North-Carolina, Virginia diviſion; rear-guard volunteers, cavalry on the right and left of the baggage, equally divided; in this order the troops will proceed this night; in caſe of an attack by the enemy's cavalry in front, the light infantry on each flank will inſtantly march up, and give, and continue the moſt galling fire upon the enemy's horſe; this will enable colonel Armand's not only to ſupport the enemy's charge, but finally rout them; the colonel will therefore conſider the orders to ſtand the attack of the enemy's cavalry, be their numbers what they may, as poſitive: general Stevens will immediately order one captain, two lieutenants, one enſign, three ſerjeants, one drum, and ſixty rank and file, to join colonel Porterfield's infantry; theſe men are to be taken from the moſt experienced woodſmen, and men every way fitteſt for the ſervice.

THE general will likewiſe complete Armſtrong's light infantry to their original number, thoſe muſt be immediately marched to the advanced poſt of the army. The troops will preſerve the profoundeſt ſilence on the march, and any ſoldier who offers to fire, without the command of his officer, muſt be inſtantly put to death.

WHEN the ground will admit of it, and the near approach of the enemy renders it neceſſary,

the army will, when ordered, march in columns; the artillery at the head of their reſpective brigades, and the baggage in the rear. The guard of the heavy baggage will be compoſed of the remaining officers and ſoldiers of the artillery. One captain, two ſubalterns, four ſerjeants, four drums, and ſixty rank and file, and no perſon whatever is to preſume to ſend any other ſoldier upon that ſervice.

ALL batmen, waiters, &c. who are ſoldiers taken from the line, are forthwith to join their reſpective regiments, and act with their maſters, while they are upon duty. The tents of the whole army to be ſtruck at tattoo.

NOTE XXII. PAGE 161.

THE names of the other gentlemen were meſſrs. Edward Blake, John Budd, Robert Cockran, John Edwards, Thomas Ferguſon, George Flagg, William-Haſel Gibbs, William Hall, Thomas Hall, Thomas Hayward, jun. Iſaac Holmes, Richard Hutſon, William Johnſon, rev. John Lewis, William Livingſton, John Loveday, Richard Luſhington, William Maſſey, Edward M'Cready, Alexander Moultrie, John Mouatt, John Neufville, Edward North, Joſeph Parker, John-Erneſt Poyas, Jacob Read, Hugh Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, John Sanſum, Thomas Savage, Thomas Singleton, Joſiah Smith, James-

Hamden

Hamden Thomſon, Peter Timothy, John Todd and Anthony Toomer.

NOTE XXIII. PAGE 169.

A SECOND cargo of the citizens who ſtill remained priſoners on parole were ſhipped off on the ſeventeenth of November following. Their names were as follows: meſſrs. Joſeph Bee, Richard Beresford, John Berwick, Benjamin Cudworth, Henry Crouch, John-Splatt Cripps, Edward Darrell, Daniel Deſſauſſure, George A. Hall, Thomas Grimball, Noble-Wimberley Jones, William Lee, William Logan, Arthur Middleton, Chriſtopher Peters, Benjamin Roſtell, Samuel Prioleau, Philip Smith, Benjamin Waller, James Wakefield, Edward Weyman, Morton Wilkinſon. In addition to theſe citizens of South-Carolina, moſt of whom were entitled to the benefits of the capitulation of Charleſton, general Rutherford and colonel Iſaacs, of the ſtate of North-Carolina, who had been taken near Camden in Auguſt 1780, were at the ſame time ſhipped off for St. Auguſtine—theſe were treated with more politeneſs.

NOTE

NOTE XXIV. PAGE 169.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By the right honourable Charles earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, notwithſtanding the moderation of the Britiſh government, and his majeſty's unparalleled clemency to thoſe of his deluded ſubjects, who, from a ſenſe of their errors, have returned to their duty and allegiance, there are ſeveral perſons of property in this province, who obſtinately perſiſt in their guilty and treaſonable practices, and are either in the ſervice or acting under the authority of the rebel Congreſs; or by abandoning their plantations, to join the enemies of Great-Britain; or by an open avowal of rebellious principles, and other notorious acts, do manifeſt a wicked and deſperate perſeverance, in oppoſing to the utmoſt of their power, the re-eſtabliſhment of his majeſty's juſt and lawful authority: and whereas it is a duty incumbent upon me to take all due precaution to ſecure the tranquillity of his majeſty's government, and the peace and liberties of his faithful and loyal ſubjects in this province, and to prevent the wicked deſigns of ſuch ill-diſpoſed perſons, as are above deſcribed, from taking effect: and whereas it might be of dangerous conſequence

to

to ſuffer ſuch perſons to poſſeſs and make uſe of their eſtates in this province, thereby furniſhing them with the means of carrying on their malicious and traitorous deſigns more effectually into execution; and as it likewiſe appears to me both juſt and expedient, that the property which they have voluntarily ſtaked in ſupport of rebellion, ſhould now be applied, on our part, to defray a portion of the expences occaſioned by the obſtinate delinquency of their faction. I have therefore thought fit to iſſue this proclamation, to notify to all perſons concerned, that I have ordered the eſtates, both real and perſonal, in this province, belonging to the wicked and dangerous traitors above deſcribed, to be ſequeſtered; and I have conſtituted and appointed John Cruden, eſquire, to be commiſſioner to execute the purpoſes of this proclamation, with full power and authority, on receipt of an order or warrant under my hand, or the hand of the officer commanding the Britiſh forces in this province, or of the commandant of Charleſton, and not otherwiſe, to take into his charge, cuſtody and poſſeſſion, the eſtates, both real and perſonal, of thoſe who have abandoned their plantations, to join the enemies of Great-Britain; and of the eſtates, both real and perſonal, not included in the capitulation of Charleſton, of thoſe in the ſervice, or acting under the authority of the rebel Congreſs; and of the eſtates, both real and perſonal, of thoſe perſons, who, by an open avowal of rebellious principles, or by other notorious

ous

ous acts, do manifeſt a wicked and deſperate perſeverance in oppoſing, to the utmoſt of their power, the re-eſtabliſhment of his majeſty's juſt and lawful authority: and the ſaid commiſſioner ſhall, within the term of twenty-one days after execution of every ſuch order or warrant above mentioned, by ſeizure of the eſtates or property therein deſcribed, cauſe notice thereof to be publiſhed in three ſucceſſive news-papers, that no perſon concerned may plead ignorance of the ſame; and the like term is allowed for the removal of poſſeſſors from the premiſes ſo ſeized. And to the end, that this truſt of ſo great importance be duly and faithfully adminiſtered for the publick benefit, I do hereby ſtrictly require and enjoin, that the ſaid commiſſioners do, in every caſe of the ſeizure of property, whether real or perſonal, forthwith take upon the ſpot, if in the country, in preſence of two perſons acting either as field officers, or captains of militia under his majeſty's government, and, if in town, in preſence of two creditable freeholders, an exact inventory of the property ſo ſeized, which they are hereby required to ſign, and it is to be kept and produced by the commiſſioner, as a voucher on the exhibition of his accounts. And whereas it is dictated by humanity and compaſſion, that due and reaſonable conſideration be had for the families of the traitorous offenders, whoſe property is neceſſarily become the object of this proclamation, I have authorized and directed the ſaid commiſſioner to pay, for the ſupport and maintenance

maintenance of families, conſiſting of a wife and children, one fourth part of the net annual product of the ſeized eſtates reſpectively, and one ſixth part where there is a wife and no children, as the caſe may be; provided they are reſident, and continue to be reſident, within this province; and the receipts and acquittances of the parties ſhall be, and are hereby directed to be, conſidered ſufficient vouchers to the ſaid commiſſioner at the ſettlement of his accounts. And it being highly expedient, that accounts of all perſonal property, and of the iſſues and produce of all eſtates, conſiſting of land, negroes, cattle, and of every ſpecies of property, ſeized by virtue of this proclamation, be kept in the moſt clear and diſtinct manner poſſible: I do hereby direct, that the ſaid commiſſioner do keep particular and ſeparate accounts of all property, real and perſonal, under the names of the perſons who were ſuppoſed and acknowledged to be the proprietors at the time of ſeizure: and I do hereby further direct and require the ſaid commiſſioner to make up a general account of the expence of management, and of the amount of the ſale and diſpoſal of all property whatſoever, that ſhall come into his hands, which is to be laid before the commandant and board of police of Charleſton, every ſix months, or oftener, if it ſhall appear neceſſary and practicable; and he ſhall be thereunto required, during ſuch time as the ſaid eſtates ſhall remain under ſequeſtration: and the commandant and board of police are hereby directed and

required

required to inſpect the ſaid accounts with all convenient diſpatch; and if they appear to them to be juſt and right, to grant a certificate thereof to the ſaid commiſſioner; and the ſaid commiſſioner is hereby further required, upon ſuch certificate being granted, to pay the balance ariſing from the above deſcribed eſtates, into the hands of the paymaſter-general of his majeſty's forces, or his deputy, to be applied to the purpoſe beforementioned, or in any other manner that may be directed by his majeſty's commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to America, or the commander in chief. And I do hereby declare, that any perſon or perſons obſtructing or impeding the ſaid commiſſioner in the execution of his duty, by concealment or removal of any property he may be authorized to ſeize, or otherwiſe, ſhall, on conviction, be puniſhed as aiding and abetting rebellion; and if any perſon or perſons ſhall make diſcovery where any effects are concealed, or attempted to be carried away, or ſhall give any neceſſary information to the ſaid John Cruden, eſquire, ſo that effects belonging to a perſon whoſe eſtate is ſequeſtered, may be ſecured, the perſon or perſons giving ſuch information ſhall be moſt liberally rewarded: and all officers, civil and military, and all other perſons whatſoever, are ſtrictly enjoined and required to aid and aſſiſt the ſaid John Cruden and his deputies, in the execution of the truſt repoſed in him. And whereas certain limited orders and powers have been given by me to colonels and commanding officers

of

of militia, in ſome few of the diſtricts of this province, to ſeize the horſes, cattle, negroes, and proviſions of perſons concerned in the late revolt, more particularly deſcribed in the ſaid orders, and to apply the ſame, under certain regulations and reſtrictions, to the indemnification of the King's loyal and faithful ſubjects in the reſpective diſtricts, who had ſuffered by the depredations of the rebels: and whereas the colonels and commanding officers of militia were, by the ſaid orders, directed to report to me, at the head-quarters of the army, the property they ſhould ſeize, by virtue of the ſame, ſpecifying clearly its nature and value, and the application thereof, towards the relief and indemnity of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, who have ſuffered as aforeſaid; I do now hereby require and command them, inſtead of reporting to me their proceedings, as above directed, to tranſmit to the commandant of Charleſton, within the term of fourteen days after the diſtribution of the property ſeized, particular accounts of all ſuch property ſeized, and of its application and diſtribution, in writing, which are to be ſigned by the colonel or commanding officer of the militia, and by the twelve men of the neighbourhood who condemned the property, and ordered diſtribution of the ſame; and that they do tranſmit exact duplicates of the ſaid accounts, ſigned in the manner above directed, at the ſame time, to John Cruden, eſquire, the commiſſioner named in this proclamation, to be lodged in his office at Charleſton,

to the end that it may appear and be aſcertained how the property ſeized, under the above-recited orders, hath been applied and diſtributed.

Given under my hand and ſeal, at head-quarters, in the diſtrict of Waxhaws, in the ſaid province, the ſixteenth day of September, anno Domini 1780, and in the twentieth year of his majeſty's reign.

CORNWALLIS.

By his lordſhip's command,
J. Money, aid-de-camp.

NOTE XXV. PAGE 172.

To the right honourable Charles earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, &c. &c. &c.

The humble addreſs of divers loyal inhabitants of Charleſton.

WE, his majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, inhabitants of Charleſton, finding ourſelves diſappointed in the expectation we entertained of your lordſhip's returning ſhortly to this capital, whereby we are precluded of perſonal acceſs to your lordſhip, take this opportunity, through the intervention of the commandant, of tendering to your lordſhip our joyful congratulations

lations on the total defeat and diſperſion of the rebel army, by his majeſty's forces under your command.

When we reflect on the deſolation and ruin with which this province was threatened by the unrelenting cruelty of a formidable and menacing enemy, we think ourſelves fortunate that we had no idea of our danger, until we were effectually relieved from it by the glorious victory obtained by your lordſhip, wherein the interpoſition of a protecting Providence is evident; which inſpires us with gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the univerſe; and at the ſame time excites in our minds a due ſenſe of the manifold obligations we have to your lordſhip, for your diſtinguiſhed conduct and courage, ſo eminently conſpicuous in the accompliſhment of that great event, which has reſcued this province from impending deſtruction, and is no leſs advantageous to our moſt gracious ſovereign and the Britiſh empire, than honourable to your lordſhip; and which fame will tranſmit to the lateſt poſterity, with that tribute of praiſe and admiration your lordſhip has ſo juſtly merited on this important occaſion.

Although a prevailing faction ſubverted our excellent conſtitution, and eſtabliſhed a democratic kind of government in its ſtead, yet, as that arbitrary ſyſtem of rule was annihilated by the ſurrender of this capital, and ſubmiſſion of the country,

country, every member of the community had an indubitable right to conſult his own happineſs; and as the people in general, induced by their predilection and veneration for the old conſtitution, have made an explicit declaration of their allegiance, and availed themſelves of the protection of that government under which they formerly enjoyed the higheſt degree of civil and political liberty, as well as ſecurity in their properties, we cannot but conſider the late attempt of Congreſs to ſubjugate the freemen of this province to their tyrannical domination, an additional proof of their reſtleſs ambition, and of the wicked machinations of the contemptible remains of that expiring faction, who have ſo recently exerciſed a deſpotick and lawleſs ſway over us; and we truſt that every other hoſtile experiment, by the goodneſs of GOD, and your lordſhip's vigilance and animated endeavours, will be rendered equally futile.

THAT Heaven, propitious to your lordſhip's active zeal in the ſervice of your King and country, may crown your future exertions with ſucceſs, and incline our deluded ſiſter colonies to partake of thoſe bleſſings of which we have ſo fair a proſpect, are the ſincere and ardent wiſhes, not only of us, but we are perſuaded of every other loyal inhabitant of Charleſton.

September 19, 1780.

[SIGNED by one hundred and ſixty-four perſons.]

NOTE

NOTE XXVI. PAGE 189.

Saturday, January 13, 1781.

THE committee, to whom was referred the letter of December ſeventh from major-general Greene, delivered in a report; whereupon,

CONGRESS taking into conſideration the eminent ſervices rendered to the United States by brigadier-general Sumpter, of South-Carolina, at the head of a number of volunteer militia, from that and the neighbouring ſtates, particularly in the victory obtained over the enemy at the Hanging-Rock, on the ſixth of Auguſt; in the defeat of major Weyms and the corps of Britiſh infantry and dragoons under his command, at Broad river, on the ninth day of November, in which the ſaid major Weyms was made priſoner; and in the repulſe of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and the Britiſh cavalry and infantry under his command, at Black-Stocks, on Tyger river, on the twentieth day of November laſt; in each of which actions the gallantry and military conduct of general Sumpter, and the courage and perſeverance of his troops, were highly conſpicuous:

RESOLVED, therefore, that the thanks of Congreſs be preſented to brigadier-general Sumpter, and the militia aforeſaid, for ſuch reiterated proofs of their patriotiſm, bravery and military conduct,

conduct, which entitle them to the higheſt eſteem and confidence of their country; and that the commanding officer of the ſouthern department do forthwith cauſe the ſame to be iſſued in general orders, and tranſmitted to general Sumpter.

NOTE XXVII. PAGE 199.

In Congreſs, March 1781.

Friday, March 9, 1781.

ON the report of a committee, conſiſting of mr. Burke, mr. Varnum and mr. Bee, to whom were referred ſundry letters from major-general Greene and brigadier-general Morgan, the following reſolutions were paſſed:

THE United States in Congreſs aſſembled, conſidering it as a tribute due to diſtinguiſhed merit to give a publick approbation of the conduct of brigadier-general Morgan, and of the officers and men under his command, on the ſeventeenth day of January laſt; when, with eighty cavalry and two hundred and thirty-ſeven infantry of the troops of the United States, and five hundred and fifty-three militia from the ſtates of Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, he obtained a complete and important victory over a ſelect and well-appointed detachment of more than eleven hundred Britiſh troops, commanded by

by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton; do therefore reſolve:

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, be given to brigadier-general Morgan and the officers and men under his command, for their fortitude and good conduct diſplayed in the action at the Cowpens, in the ſtate of South-Carolina, on the ſeventeenth day of January laſt:

THAT a medal of gold be preſented to brigadier-general Morgan, and a medal of ſilver to lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, of the cavalry, and one of ſilver to lieutenant-colonel Howard, of the infantry, of the United States, ſeverally, with emblems and mottos deſcriptive of the conduct of thoſe officers reſpectively on that memorable day:

THAT a ſword be preſented to colonel Pickens, of the militia, in teſtimony of his ſpirited conduct in the action before mentioned:

THAT major Edward Giles, aid-de-camp of brigadier-general Morgan, have the brevet commiſſion of a major; and that baron de Glaſbeck, who ſerved with brigadier-general Morgan as a volunteer, have the brevet commiſſion of captain in the army of the United States, in conſideration of their merit and ſervices.

ORDERED, that the commanding officer in the ſouthern

ſouthern department communicate theſe reſoluti. ons in general orders.

NOTE XXVIII. PAGE 199.

A liſt of the commiſſioned officers who fought in the action of January ſeventeenth, 1781, under general Morgan, and defeated lieutenant-colonel Tarleton.

Of the light infantry:

JOHN Howard, lieutenant-colonel, commandant,
Benjamin Brooks, captain, and major of brigade,
Captain Robert Kirkwood, Delaware,

Captain Anderſon, Dobſon, Lieutenant Ervine, Watkins, Houſton, } Maryland.

Lieutenant Barnes, Miller, Enſign King, } Virginia.

Enſign Dyer, Smith, } Maryland.

Lieutenant Andrews, Delaware.

Of the third regiment of dragoons:

Lieut. colonel William Waſhington, Major Richard Call, Captain Bennett, Lieutenant Bell, } Virginia.

Cornet Simons, South-Carolina.

Of the Maryland ſtate regiment:
Edward Giles, major and aid-de-camp.

Of the Virginia militia:
Major Triplet,
Captain Buchanan,
Captain Tate,
Captain Gilmore,
Enſign Combs,
Enſign M'Corkill,
Enſign Wilſon.

THE Baron de Glaſbeck ſerved as a volunteer in general Morgan's family, and mr. Andrews with lieutenant-colonel Waſhington's regiment.

COLONEL Pickens, and all the officers in his corps, behaved well; but, from their having ſo lately joined the detachment, it has been impoſſible to collect all their names and rank, ſo that the general is conſtrained not to particularize any, leſt it ſhould be doing injuſtice to others.

By order of general Morgan,
EDWARD GILES, A. D. C.

January 17, 1781.

NOTE

NOTE XXIX. PAGE 213.

By the right honourable Charles earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to proſper the operations of his majeſty's arms in driving the rebel army out of this province: and whereas it is his majeſty's moſt gracious wiſh to reſcue his faithful and loyal ſubjects from the cruel tyranny under which they have groaned for ſeveral years: I have thought proper to iſſue this proclamation to invite all ſuch faithful and loyal ſubjects to repair, without loſs of time, with their arms and ten days proviſions, to the royal ſtandard now erected at Hillſborough, where they will meet with the moſt friendly reception; and I do hereby aſſure them, that I am ready to concur with them in effectual meaſures for ſuppreſſing the remains of rebellion in this province, and for the re-eſtabliſhment of good order and conſtitutional government.

Given under my hand at head-quarters, at Hillſborough, this 20th day of February, in the year of our LORD 1781, and in the 21ſt year of his majeſty's reign.

CORNWALLIS.

By his lordſhip's command,
H. BRODRICK, aid-de-camp.

GOD ſave the KING.

NOTE XXX. PAGE 216.

Extract from earl Cornwallis's 'anſwer to the narrative of ſir Henry Clinton.'

Page 3, 4. OUR hopes of ſucceſs in offenſive operations were not founded only on the efforts of the corps, under my immediate command, which did not much exceed three thouſand men, but principally upon the moſt poſitive aſſurances given by apparent credible deputies and emiſſaries, that, upon the appearance of a Britiſh army in North-Carolina, a great body of inhabitants were ready to join and co-operate with it, in endeavouring to reſtore his majeſty's government.

PAGE 5. The unexpected failure of our friends rendered the victory at Guilford of little value. I know it has been aſſerted, or inſinuated, that they were not ſufficiently tried upon this occaſion: but can any diſpaſſionate perſon believe, that I did not give every encouragement to people of all deſcriptions to join and aſſiſt us, when our own reputation, the ſafety of the army, and the intereſts of my country, were ſo deeply concerned in that junction and aſſiſtance? All inducements in my power were made uſe of without material effect; and every man in my army muſt have been convinced, that the accounts of our emiſſaries had greatly exaggerated the number

ber of thoſe who had profeſſed friendſhip for us; as they muſt have obſerved, that a very conſiderable part of them could not be prevailed on to remain with us, or to exert themſelves in any form whatever.

THIS diſappointment, and the wants and diſtreſſes of the army, compelled me to move to Croſs Creek; but meeting there no material part of the promiſed aſſiſtance and ſupport, I was obliged to continue my march to Wilmington.

PAGE 15. That our failure in North-Carolina was not occaſioned by our want of force, to protect the riſing of our friends, but by their timidity and unwillingneſs to take an active and uſeful part.

A letter from the board of loyaliſts to earl Cornwallis.

MY LORD, March 5, 1783.

WE, the board of agents for the American loyaliſts, beg leave to addreſs a few lines to your lordſhip, with all poſſible reſpect, on a ſubject which we feel ourſelves, and thoſe we repreſent, ſo deeply intereſted in, that we cannot remain ſilent without neglecting the truſt repoſed in us.

WHILST in reading your lordſhip's late publication, we entertain the higheſt admiration of your character, and are conſcious that your humanity

manity equals that intrepidity and perſeverance, that have marked the whole of your conduct in America, and accompanied your lordſhip's march through wild extents of North-Carolina into Virginia; we cannot but obſerve, with extreme regret, ſome paſſages that have dropped from your lordſhip's pen, relative to the conduct of the loyaliſts in North-Carolina, which, without ſome explanation, may make impreſſions never intended by your lordſhip, to the diſadvantage of a body of men, who have ſacrificed their all, by ſteadily perſevering in their allegiance to their ſovereign, and by maintaining, at every riſk, and with the utmoſt conſtancy and unremitted exertions, his authority and juſt rights in America.

THE favourable opinion your lordſhip has ſo frequently expreſſed of this body of men will, we hope, be our excuſe for troubling your lordſhip on this occaſion.

THE very high eſteem ſo juſtly entertained of your lordſhip in this kingdom, gives great weight to every thing coming from you; and we are apprehenſive, leſt the encloſed extracts from the introduction to your lordſhip's letters, by being either miſunderſtood, or maliciouſly miſrepreſented, may be detrimental to our intended application to parliament.

PEOPLE in this country are in general ignorant of

of the ſtate of North-Carolina, its extent, and the ſcattered ſcarcity of its inhabitants, and, of courſe, from that ignorance, are eaſily led to form haſty opinions of the practicability of things, in their nature impoſſible.

We humbly conceive, we have only to ſuggeſt theſe our apprehenſions to your lordſhip's humanity and candour, on which we rely with perfect confidence, that they will dictate to your lordſhip ſuch meaſures as are beſt adapted to prevent any poſſible miſchief, which, we are well aſſured, was never deſigned on your lordſhip's part. In this reliance, we have the honour of ſubſcribing ourſelves, with the higheſt reſpect,

Signed on behalf of the board,

J. Wright, preſident.

A letter from earl Cornwallis to the board of loyaliſts.

Mansfield-Street, March 8, 1783.

Gentlemen,

I have received the honour of your letter on the fifth inſtant, and am extremely concerned to learn, that ſome expreſſions in my anſwer to ſir Henry Clinton's narrative, have given pain to a body of men ſo reſpectable, and ſo peculiarly circumſtanced, as the unfortunate American loyaliſts.

My

My ſervices in North-America gave me numberleſs opportunities to obſerve the undoubted loyalty of a great body of people; and, I hope, that the whole tenor of my conduct has proved, not only that I was even ſenſible of their merits, but that, if at any time my friendſhip and protection has not come up to their expectations, the want of power has been the ſole cauſe of their diſappointment.

When I found myſelf called upon, by ſir Henry Clinton's narrative, to publiſh a vindication of my own conduct during the campaign of 1781, it was as far from my intention, as it would have been cruelly unjuſt, to convey a doubt of the loyal diſpoſition of a great number of the inhabitants of North-Carolina: convinced of their loyalty, it was with reluctance, even when diſappointed, that I complained of their inactivity; as it proceeded from cauſes which will ſave them from cenſure with all generous minds.

North-Carolina being in proportion to its immenſe extent but thinly inhabited, and our friends being not only much diſperſed, but mixed in every diſtrict with people of oppoſite principles, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the power of government, their efforts to manifeſt their loyalty had been made under great diſadvantages, and had been attended with many fatal conſequences, previous to our march into that province. Many had loſt their lives, and numbers had

had long languiſhed in confinement, or had been driven out of the country, in conſequence of the riſing in the year 1776.

THE premature riſing at Ramſour's, colonel Bryan's junction with us in South-Carolina, both directly contrary to my recommendation, and colonel Ferguſon's defeat on King's Mountain, in the year 1780, had occaſioned the ruin of many families, and had furniſhed pretexts to exerciſe cruelties upon individuals, to a degree neither believed nor conceived in this country; thoſe rigours, joined to a long ſeries of former oppreſſions, had, in my opinion, totally broke the ſpirits of the greateſt number of our friends before our arrival among them.

HOPE of relief naturally induced their emiſſaries (perhaps not ſenſible of it) to conceal this from me, and I could only diſcover it from experience, when I called upon them for aſſiſtance. I will freely confeſs, that I was then convinced that we had been too ſanguine on both ſides; our expectations had been too high of co-operation and aſſiſtance, and our friends had expected too much from the appearance of a Britiſh army in the province.

To account for ſome parts of my own conduct, it was neceſſary to ſtate this diſappointment; but when the ſituation of theſe unfortunate people is fairly conſidered, I am perſuaded that I cannot have

have excited any emotion but compaſſion for them, in the breaſts of all liberal men. The characters and principles of a great body of loyaliſts, at preſent in this country, or with our army in North-America, can be ſtill leſs affected by miſconſtructions of any expreſſions of mine. Many, by gallantly taking arms in the common cauſe, ſome, by acting in civil capacities, and others, by abandoning their families and properties in America, have proved their loyalty and attachment to this government beyond all poſſibility of being controverted; and have, therefore, the beſt founded claims for compenſation, upon the generoſity and juſtice of Britain. I beg leave to aſſure the board of agents, that I am truly ſenſible of the high value of the favourable opinion that they have been pleaſed to expreſs of my conduct during this calamitous war; and I ſhall ever lament that my endeavours were ſo ineffectual to promote the intereſt of individuals, and the re-union of the Britiſh empire.

I HAVE the honour to be, with great reſpect, gentlemen,

your moſt obedient, and
moſt humble ſervant,
CORNWALLIS.

Sir James Wright, bart. preſident, and
the other members of the board of
agents for the American loyaliſts.

NOTE XXXI. PAGE 222.

By Charles earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS by the bleſſing of Almighty GOD, his majeſty's arms have been crowned with ſignal ſucceſs, by the complete victory obtained over the rebel forces on the fifth inſtant, I have thought proper to iſſue this proclamation, to call upon all loyal ſubjects to ſtand forth, and take an active part in reſtoring good order and government: and whereas it has been repreſented to me, that many perſons in this province, who have taken a ſhare in this unnatural rebellion, but having experienced the oppreſſion and injuſtice of the rebel government, and having ſeen the errors into which they have been deluded by falſehoods and miſrepreſentations, are ſincerely deſirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, I do hereby notify and promiſe to all ſuch perſons (murderers excepted) that if they will ſurrender themſelves, with their arms and ammunition, at head-quarters, or to the officer commanding in the diſtrict contiguous to their reſpective places of reſidence, on or before the twentieth day of April next, they will be permitted to return to their homes, upon giving a military parole; and ſhall be protected in their perſons and properties from all ſorts of violence

from

from the Britiſh troops; and will be reſtored, as ſoon as poſſible, to all the privileges of legal and conſtitutional government.

Given under my hand at head-quarters, this eighteenth day of March, A. D. 1781, and in the twenty-firſt year of his majeſty's reign.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

NOTE XXXII. PAGE 224.

Extract of brigadier-general Arnold's letter to ſir Henry Clinton.

Peterſburg, May 12, 1781.

SIR,

I AM extremely ſorry to inform your excellency, that major-general Philips is reduced ſo low by a fever, which ſeized him on the ſecond inſtant, that he is incapable of buſineſs, and the phyſicians are not without fears for his ſafety. In this ſituation I think it my duty to tranſmit to your excellency by expreſs a detail of the proceedings of the army under the orders of major-general Philips, ſince they left Portſmouth, which his indiſpoſition prevented him from doing as he intended.

ON the eighteenth of April the light infantry, part

part of the ſeventy-ſixth and eightieth regiments, the queen's rangers, yagers, and American legion, embarked at Portſmouth, and fell down to Hampton road; on the nineteenth, proceeded up James river to Burwell's ferry; on the twentieth lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, with the light infantry, proceeded up the Chickahomany in boats; lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with a detachment, to York; lieutenant-colonel Dundas, with another detachment, landed at the mouth of the Chickahomany; and major-general Philips and myſelf landed with part of the army at Williamſburg, where about five hundred militia were poſted, who retired upon our approach. The militia at York croſſed the river before the arrival of lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, who made a few priſoners, ſpiked and deſtroyed ſome cannon, and next day returned to Williamſburg.

On the twenty-ſecond the troops marched to Chickahomany. We were met on the road, five miles from the mouth of the river, by lieutenant-colonel Dundas, with his detachment: this evening the troops, cavalry, artillery, &c. were re-embarked. The next morning we were joined by lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, with the light infantry, who had been ten or twelve miles up the Chickahomany, and deſtroyed ſeveral armed ſhips, the ſtate ſhip-yards, ware-houſes, &c. &c.

At ten o'clock the fleet weighed and proceed-

ed

ed up the James river, within four miles of Weſtover.

The twenty-fourth weighed anchor at eleven o'clock, and run up to City Point, where the troops, &c. were all landed at ſix o'clock in the evening.

The twenty-fifth marched at ten o'clock for Peterſburg, where we arrived about five o'clock P. M. We were oppoſed, about one mile from town, by a body of militia, under the orders of brigadier-general Muhlenburgh, ſuppoſed to be about one thouſand men, who were ſoon obliged to retire over the bridge, with the loſs of near one hundred men killed and wounded, as we have ſince been informed; our loſs only one man killed and ten wounded. The enemy took up the bridge, which prevented our purſuing them.

Twenty-sixth. Deſtroyed at Peterſburg four thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, one ſhip, and a number of ſmall veſſels on the ſtocks and in the river.

Twenty-seventh. Major-general Philips, with the light-infantry, part of the cavalry of the queen's rangers, and part of the yagers, marched to Cheſterfield courthouſe, where they burned a range of barracks for two thouſand men, and three hundred barrels of flour, &c.

The

The ſame day I marched to Oſborn's, with the ſeventy-ſixth and eighteth regiments, queen's rangers, part of the yagers, and American legion, where we arrived about noon. Finding the enemy had very conſiderable force of ſhips four miles above Oſborn's, drawn up in a line to oppoſe us, I ſent a flag to the commodore, propoſing to treat with him for the ſurrender of his fleet, which he refuſed, with this anſwer, 'That 'he was determined to defend it to the laſt ex-'tremity.' I immediately ordered down two ſix and two three-pounders, braſs field-pieces, to a bank of the river, nearly level with the water, and within one hundred yards of the Tempeſt, a twenty-gun ſtate-ſhip, which began immediately to fire upon us, as did the Renown of twenty-ſix guns, the Jefferſon, a ſtate brigantine of fourteen guns, and ſeveral other armed ſhips and brigantines; about two or three hundred militia, on the oppoſite ſhore, at the ſame time kept up a heavy fire of muſketry upon us. Notwithſtanding which, the fire of the artillery, under the direction of captain Fage and lieutenant Rogers, took ſuch place, that the ſhips were ſoon obliged to ſtrike their colours, and the militia drove from the oppoſite ſhore. Want of boats, and the wind blowing hard, prevented our capturing many of the ſeamen, who took to their boats, and eſcaped on ſhore; but not without firſt ſcuttling and ſetting fire to ſome of their ſhips, which could not be ſaved.

Two

Two ſhips, three brigantines, five ſloops, and two ſchooners, loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. fell into our hands.

Four ſhips, five brigantines, and a number of ſmall veſſels, were ſunk and burned. On board the whole fleet, none of which eſcaped, were taken and deſtroyed about two thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, &c. &c. and very fortunately we had not a man killed or wounded this day; but have reaſon to believe the enemy ſuffered conſiderably. About five o'clock P. M. we were joined by major-general Philips, with the light infantry.

Twenty-eighth. The troops remained at Oſborn's, waiting for boats from the fleet; part of them were employed in ſecuring the prizes, and carrying them to Oſborn's, as a place of ſafety.

Twenty-ninth. The boats having arrived, the troops were put in motion. Major-general Philips marched with the main body; at the ſame time I proceeded up the river, with a detachment in boats, and met him between Cary's mills and Warwick.

Thirtieth. The troops marched to Manchester, and deſtroyed twelve hundred hogſheads of tobacco. The marquis de la Fayette having arrived with his army at Richmond, oppoſite to Manchester,

Mancheſter, the day before, and being joined by the militia drove from Peterſburg and Williamſburg, they were ſpectators of the conflagration, without attempting to moleſt us. The ſame evening we returned to Warwick, where we deſtroyed a magazine of five hundred barrels of flour, and colonel Cary's fine mills were deſtroyed in burning the magazine of flour. We alſo burned ſeveral warehouſes, with one hundred and fifty hogſheads of tobacco, a large ſhip and a brigantine afloat, and three veſſels on the ſtocks, a large range of publick rope-walks and ſtore-houſes, and ſome tan and bark-houſes full of hides and bark.

MAY firſt. Marched to Oſborn's, and diſpatched our prizes and boats down the river; and in the evening marched to Bermuda Hundreds, oppoſite City Point.

MAY ſecond. Embarked the troops, &c. &c.

MAY third. Fell down the river to Weſtover.

MAY fourth. Proceeded down to Tappahannock.

FIFTH and ſixth. Part of the fleet fell down to Hog-Iſland.

SEVENTH. Major-general Philips having received a letter from lord Cornwallis, orders were given for the fleet to return up the river again.

We

We arrived at Brandon about five o'clock, and moſt of the troops, cavalry, &c. were landed this evening, though it blew a gale of wind.

MAY eighth. Remained at Brandon. Major-general Philips being very ill, and unable to travel on horſeback, a poſt-chaiſe was procured for him.

MAY ninth. The light infantry, and part of the queen's rangers, in boats, were ordered, with the Formidable and Spitfire, to proceed to City Point, and land there. The reſt of the army were put in motion for Peterſburgh, where they arrived late in the night, having marched near thirty miles this day.

ON our leaving Bermuda Hundred, and going down the river, the marquis de la Fayette, with his army, moved towards Williamſburg, and by forced marches had croſſed the Chickahomany at Long Bridge, when our fleet returned to Brandon, which retrogade motion of ours occaſioned him to return as rapidly by forced marches to Oſborn's, where he arrived the eighth, and was preparing to croſs the river to Peterſburg when we arrived there, which was ſo unexpected, that we ſurprized and took two majors, one of them aid-de-camp to Baron Steuben, the other to general Smallwood; one captain and three lieutenants of dragoons; two lieutenants of foot, a commiſſary, and a ſurgeon: ſome of theſe gen-

tlemen arrived only two hours before us, with an intention of collecting the boats for the marquis to croſs his army.

On the tenth the marquis made his appearance on the oppoſite ſide of the river with a ſtrong eſcort, and having ſtayed ſome time to reconnoitre our army, returned to his camp at Oſborn's; and we are this day informed he is marched to Richmond, where it is ſaid Wayne, with the Pennſylvania line, has arrived; this is however uncertain, but he is certainly expected there.

An expreſs paſſed through this place the day before our arrival here, who left Halifax on the ſeventh, and informed, that the advance of lord Cornwallis's arrived there that morning: this report we have from ſeveral quarters, and I am inclined to believe it is true. Several expreſſes have been ſent to his lordſhip, informing him of our being here ready to co-operate with his lordſhip. We are in anxious expectation of having particular intelligence from him every minute.

As ſoon as it is reduced to a certainty that lord Cornwallis has croſſed the Roanoke, and is on his march for this place, the army will advance one or two days march from hence to meet his lordſhip, and carry a ſupply of proviſions for his army.

A conſiderable magazine of flour and bread has fallen into our hands near this place, and the country abounds with cattle.

MAJOR-GENERAL Philips is ſo weak and low, that it will be ſome conſiderable time before he can go through the fatigue of buſineſs. In this critical ſituation, I am happy to have the aſſiſtance of ſo many good and experienced officers with me, commanding corps. If joined by lord Cornwallis, or the reinforcement ſaid to be coming from New-York, we ſhall be in force to operate as we pleaſe in Virginia or Maryland.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) B. ARNOLD.

Adjutant-general's office, New-York, July 15, 1781.

SIR,

I AM directed by the commander in chief to ſend you the following account of the operations of the army in Virginia, under the command of lieutenant-general the earl Cornwallis, which you will pleaſe to publiſh in your Gazette.

I am, ſir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

A. DELANCY, Ad. Gen.

To mr. James Rivington.

HIS lordſhip, after paſſing James river, at Weſt-over

over, moved to Hanover courthouſe, and croſſed the South-Annæ: the marquis de la Fayette keeping about twenty miles diſtant from him. From this place his lordſhip detached lieutenant-colonels Tarleton and Simcoe, the former of which took ſome members of the aſſembly at Charlotte Ville, and deſtroyed there, and on his return, one thouſand ſtand of good arms, ſome clothing, and other ſtores, and between four and five hundred barrels of powder without oppoſition. Baron Steuben, who commanded about eight hundred twelve months men and militia, retired with great precipitation, from the Point of Fork, before lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, who, after uſing every operation to attack the rear-guard, deſtroyed there, and at the places adjacent, about three thouſand three hundred ſtand of arms, (then under repair) ſome ſalt, harneſs, &c. and about one hundred and fifty barrels of powder. His lordſhip then moved by Richmond, and arrived at Williamſburg on the twenty-fifth of June, having, in addition to the articles already mentioned, deſtroyed, on this expedition, in different places, above two thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, a great number of iron guns, ten braſs French twenty-four-pounders, and brought off four thirteen-inch braſs mortars, five braſs eight-inch howitzers, four long braſs nine-pounders, all French, and a conſiderable quantity of ſhot and ſhells. On the twenty-ſixth, as lieutenant-colonel Simcoe was returning with his corps and the yagers, from the deſtruction of ſome boats and horſes

horſes on the Chickahomany, he was attacked by a much ſuperior force of the enemy, who were repulſed with a conſiderable loſs, and three officers, and twenty-eight privates taken priſoners.

His lordſhip having an intention to croſs James river, marched on the fourth inſtant, to a camp near James-Town, and made his arrangements accordingly.

On the ſixth, information was brought him about noon of the approach of the enemy, and about four in the afternoon attacked his out-poſts, but concluded that the enemy would not bring a conſiderable force within his reach, unleſs they ſuppoſed that nothing was left but a rear-guard. His lordſhip took every means to convince them of his weakneſs, which had the deſired effect; for about ſun-ſet, a body of troops with artillery, began to form in front of his camp. He then put the troops under arms, and ordered the army to advance in two lines.

The attack was begun by the firſt line with great ſpirit, there being nothing but militia oppoſed to the light infantry; the action was ſoon over on the right, but lieutenant-colonel Dundas's brigade, conſiſting of the forty-third, ſeventy-ſixth and eightieth regiments, which formed the left wing, meeting the Pennſylvania line, and detachment of the marquis de la Fayette's continentals,

tinentals, with two four pounders, a ſmart action enſued for ſome minutes, when the enemy gave way, and abandoned their cannon. The cavalry were ready to purſue, but the darkneſs of the evening prevented his lordſhip making uſe of them.

His lordſhip commends the ſpirit and good behaviour of the officers and ſoldiers of the whole army, but the ſeventy-ſixth and eightieth regiments, on whom the brunt of the action fell, had an opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves particularly; and his lordſhip ſays, that lieutenant-colonel Dundas's conduct and gallantry deſerve the higheſt praiſe. The force of the enemy in the field was about two thouſand continentals and militia, and their loſs, he believes, between two and three hundred, and that half an hour more day-light would probably have given him the greateſt part of the corps.

NOTE XXXIII. PAGE 231.

Liſt of American officers killed or wounded at the battle near Camden, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1781.

Lieutenant-colonel Ford, Maryland, dangerouſly wounded in the elbow.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, Virginia, a ſlight contuſion on the thigh.

Captain

CAPTAIN William Beatty, Maryland, killed.

CAPTAIN J. Smith, third Maryland, taken priſoner.

CAPTAIN Dunholm, Virginia, ſlight contuſion.

CAPTAIN-lieutenant Bruff, Maryland, wounded in both ancles, and priſoner on parole.

LIEUTENANT M. Gallaway, Maryland, wounded ſlightly. Lieutenant Ball, Virginia, ditto, dangerouſly in the leg.

Non-commiſſioned officers and ſoldiers, killed, wounded and miſſing.

ONE ſerjeant, ſeventeen rank and file killed.

SEVEN ſerjeants, one hundred and one rank and file wounded.

THREE ſerjeants, one hundred and thirty-three rank and file miſſing.

NOTE XXXIV. PAGE 239.

The following is general Pickens and lieutenant-colonel Lee's report of the capitulation of fort Cornwallis.

No. I.

SIR, Auguſta, May 31, 1781.

THE uſage of war renders it neceſſary that we preſent you with an opportunity of avoiding

avoiding deſtruction, which impends your garriſon.

We have deferred our ſummons to this late date, to preclude the neceſſity of much correſpondence on the occaſion. You ſee the ſtrength of the inveſting forces, the progreſs of our works, and you may inform yourſelf of the ſituation of the two armies, by enquiries from captain Armſtrong, of the legions, who has the honour to bear this.

We have the honour to be, ſir,
your moſt obedient ſervants,
ANDREW PICKENS, B. G. Mil.
HENRY LEE, jun. Lieut. Col.
commanding continental troops.

Lieut. Col. Brown.

No. II.

GENTLEMEN,

WHAT progreſs you have made in your works I am no ſtranger to. It is my duty and inclination to defend this poſt to the laſt extremity.

I have the honour to be,
gentlemen,
your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
THOMAS BROWN, Lieut. Col.
commanding King's troops at Auguſta.

To B. G. Pickens, and
Lieut. Col. Lee.

Articles

Articles of capitulation propoſed by lieutenant-colonel Brown, and anſwered by general Pickens and lieutenant-colonel Lee.

ARTICLE I. That all acts of hoſtilities and works ſhall ceaſe between the beſiegers and beſieged, until the articles of capitulation ſhall be agreed on, ſigned and executed, or collectively rejected.

ANSWER. Hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe for one hour, other operations to continue.

ARTICLE II. That the fort ſhall be ſurrendered to the commanding officer of the American troops, ſuch as it now ſtands. That the King's troops, three days after ſigning the articles of capitulation, ſhall be conducted to Savannah with their baggage, where they will remain priſoners of war until they are exchanged; that proper conveyances ſhall be provided by the commanding officer of the American troops for that purpoſe, together with a ſufficient quantity of good and wholeſome proviſions, till their arrival at Savannah.

ANSWER. Inadmiſſible. The priſoners to ſurrender field priſoners of war. The officers to be indulged with their paroles; the ſoldiers to be conducted to ſuch place as the commander in chief ſhall direct.

ARTICLE III. The militia now in garriſon ſhall

be permitted to return to their reſpective homes, and be ſecured in their perſons and properties.

ANSWER. Anſwered by the ſecond article, the militia making part of the garriſon.

ARTICLE IV. The ſick and wounded ſhall be under the care of their own ſurgeons, and be ſupplied with ſuch medicines and neceſſaries as are allowed to the Britiſh hoſpitals.—Agreed.

ARTICLE V. The officers of the garriſon, and citizens who have borne arms during the ſiege, ſhall keep their ſide arms, piſtols and baggage, which ſhall not be ſearched, and retain their ſervants.

ANSWER. The officers and citizens who have borne arms during the ſiege, ſhall be permitted their ſide arms, private baggage, and ſervants; their ſide arms not to be worn; and the baggage to be ſearched by a perſon appointed for that purpoſe.

ARTICLE VI. The garriſon, at an hour appointed, ſhall march out with ſhouldered arms and drums beating, to a place to be agreed on, where they will pile their arms.

ANSWER. Agreed. The judicious and gallant defence made by the garriſon, entitles them to every mark of military reſpect. The fort to be delivered up to captain Rudolph at twelve o'clock, who will take poſſeſſion with a detachment of the legion infantry.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE VII. That the citizens ſhall be protected in their perſons and property.

ANSWER. Inadmiſſible.

ARTICLE VIII. That twelve months ſhall be allowed to all ſuch as do not chooſe to reſide in this country, to diſpoſe of their effects, real and perſonal, in this province, without any moleſtation whatever, or to remove to any part thereof, as they may chooſe, as well themſelves as families.

ANSWER. Inadmiſſible.

ARTICLE IX. That the Indian families now in garriſon ſhall accompany the King's troops to Savannah, where they will remain priſoners of war, until exchanged for an equal number of priſoners in the Creek or Cherokee nations.

ANSWER. Anſwered in the ſecond article.

ARTICLE X. That an expreſs be permitted to go to Savannah, with the commanding officer's deſpatches, which are not to be opened.

ANSWER. Agreed.

ARTICLE XI. Additional. The particular attention of colonel Brown is expected towards the juſt delivery of all publick ſtores, monies, &c. and that no loans be permitted to defeat the ſpirit of this article.

SIGNED

SIGNED at head-quarters, Auguſta, June 5, 1781, by

ANDREW PICKENS, B. G. Mil.
HENRY LEE, jun. Lieut. Col. Com.
THOMAS BROWN, Lieut. Col.
commanding King's troops at Auguſta.

NOTE XXXV. PAGE 245.

Return of the killed, wounded and miſſing, of the continental forces, during the ſiege of Ninety-Six, in South-Carolina.

NON-Commiſſioned officers and rank and file: Virginia brigade, killed, forty-one; wounded, thirty-three; miſſing, ſixteen.

MARYLAND brigade, killed, twelve; wounded, twenty-four; miſſing, three.

LIGHT infantry, killed, one; wounded, nine; miſſing, one.

LEGION infantry, killed, two; wounded, two.

VIRGINIA militia, killed, one; wounded, two.

TOTAL. Killed, fifty-ſeven; wounded, ſeventy; miſſing, twenty.

CAPTAIN Armſtrong, of the Maryland line, killed; captain Benſon, and lieutenant Duvall, wounded.

CAPTAIN

CAPTAIN Bentley, of the Virginia line, priſoner; lieutenants Evans, Miller, and Selden, wounded.

COLONEL Koſcuilzko, chief engineer, was ſlightly wounded.

O. H. WILLIAMS, D. A. G.

Publiſhed by order of Congreſs,

CHARLES THOMSON, ſecretary.

NOTE XXXVI. PAGE 254.

Names of the continental commiſſioned officers killed and wounded in the action of Eutaw the eighth of September 1781.

MARYLAND BRIGADE.

CAPTAIN Dobſon, Edgerly, Lieutenant Dewall, Gould, } killed,

Lieut. col. Howard, Captain Gibſon, Captain lieut. Hugon, Lieutenant Ewing, Woolford, Lynn, Enſign Moore, } wounded.

VIRGINIA BRIGADE.

Lieutenant-col. Campbell, Captain Oldham, Lieutenant Wilſon, } killed.

Captain

Captain Edmonds,
Morgan,
Lieutenant Miller,
Jonitt,
} wounded.

NORTH-CAROLINA BRIGADE.

Captain Goodman,
Goodwin,
Potterfield,
Lieutenant Dillon,
} killed.

Captain Hadley,
Lieutenant Dixon,
Andrews,
Dudley,
Enſign Lamb,
Moore,
} wounded.

SOUTH-CAROLINA LINE.

Lieutenant-colonel Henderſon, wounded.

CAVALRY.

Lieutenant-col. Waſhington, wounded, and priſoner of war.

Captain Watts,
Lieutenant Gordon,
Simons,
King,
Steward,
}

Mr. Carliſle, volunteer, killed.

ARTILLERY.

Captain-lieutenant Finn, wounded.
Lieutenant Carſon, do. mortally.
Drew, wounded.
M'Gurrie, do. and priſoner of war.

LEGION

LEGION INFANTRY.

Lieutenant Manning, wounded.
Mr. Carrington, volunteer, wounded.

O. H. WILLIAMS, D. A. G.

SOUTH-CAROLINA STATE-OFFICERS.

Major Rutherford,
Lieutenant Polk,
Adjutant Luſh, } killed.

Lieut. col. Henderſon, com. brigade, wounded.
Lieutenant-colonel Middleton, wounded.
Captain Moore, do.
Giles, do.
N. Martin, do.
Cowan, do.
Lieutenant Erſkine, do.
Culpeper, do.
Hammond, do.
Spragins, do.

SOUTH-CAROLINA MILITIA.

Brigadier-general Pickens, wounded.
Lieutenant-colonel Horry, do.
Captain Gee, do.
Pegee, do.
Lieutenant Boon, do.
Holmes, killed.
Simons, do.

NOTE

NOTE XXXVII. PAGE 255.

By the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, October 29, 1781.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, be preſented to major-general Greene, for his wiſe, deciſive and magnanimous conduct in the action of the eighth of September laſt, near the Eutaw Springs, in South-Carolina; in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a moſt ſignal victory.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to the officers and men of the Maryland and Virginia brigades, and Delaware battalion of continental troops, for the unparalleled bravery and heroiſm by them diſplayed, in advancing to the enemy through an inceſſant fire, and charging them with an impetuoſity and ardour that could not be reſiſted.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to the officers and men of the legionary corps and artillery, for their intrepid and gallant exertions during the action.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to the brigade of North-Carolina, for their reſolution and perſeverance in attacking the enemy, and ſuſtaining a ſuperior fire.

THAT

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to the officers and men of the ſtate corps of South-Carolina, for the zeal, activity and firmneſs by them exhibited throughout the engagement.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to the officers and men of the militia, who formed the front line in the order of battle, and ſuſtained their poſt with honour, propriety, and a reſolution worthy of men determined to be free.

RESOLVED, that a Britiſh ſtandard be preſented to major-general Greene, as an honourable teſtimony of his merit, and a golden medal emblematical of the battle and victory aforeſaid.

THAT major-general Greene be deſired to preſent the thanks of Congreſs to captains Pierce and Pendleton, major Hyrne and captain Shubrick, his aids-de-camp, in teſtimony of their particular activity and good conduct during the whole of the action.

THAT a ſword be preſented to captain Pierce, who bore the general's deſpatches, giving an account of the victory, and that the board of war take order herein.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to brigadier-general Marion, of the South-Carolina

militia, for his wiſe, gallant and decided conduct, in defending the liberties of his country, and particularly for his prudent and intrepid attack on a body of the Britiſh troops, on the thirtieth day of Auguſt laſt, and for the diſtinguiſhed part he took in the battle of the eighth of September.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, ſecretary.

NOTE XXXVIII. PAGE 271.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By his excellency John Rutledge, eſquire, governor and commander in chief of the ſaid ſtate.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS many perſons taking advantage of the late diſturbed and unſettled condition of the ſtate, and hoping in the confuſion and diſorder occaſioned by the calamities of war to eſcape puniſhment, have committed the moſt wanton and rapacious acts of plundering; ſome under colour of indemnifying themſelves for loſſes which they have ſuſtained; others, under pretence that the perſons to whom ſuch property belonged are tories or enemies of the ſtate; and others, from a wicked and inordinate deſire of acquiring wealth by any means, however unjuſtifiable, and from any perſons, whether friends or foes: and whereas the publick ſafety requires

that

that the moſt effectual meaſures ſhould be taken for ſuppreſſing ſuch an unwarrantable and pernicious practice, inaſmuch as good and faithful ſubjects ſhould be ſecured and protected in the full and free enjoyment of their property, and no man, although criminal, ſhould be deſpoiled of his eſtate but by due courſe of law: I have therefore thought fit to iſſue this proclamation, ſtrictly forbidding all perſons from plundering, taking, or holding the property of others under any pretence, or for any cauſe whatever; warning perſons poſſeſſed of ſuch property, of the danger which they will incur by continuing to withhold it, and charging them immediately to reſtore ſuch property to the owners of it, unleſs ſuch owners are with the enemy; and in that caſe, to deliver it to the brigadier-general of the diſtrict in which it is, as they will anſwer the contrary at their peril; for ſpeedy and effectual puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on the offenders: and I do direct all juſtices of the peace diligently and faithfully to execute their office, and to uſe all lawful means that may be neceſſary for apprehending, ſecuring, and bringing to juſtice ſuch perſons as are or may be accuſed of the abovementioned, or any other criminal offence. I do moreover command all military officers of this ſtate to give ſuch aid and aſſiſtance to the civil magiſtrates, as they may require for that purpoſe: and I do exhort all thoſe who know, or have reaſon to believe, where any plundered property is concealed or ſecreted, or by whom it is poſſeſſed,

to

to make diſcovery and give information touching the ſame to the neareſt magiſtrate, in order that proper ſteps may be taken for the recovery thereof.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal, at the High Hills of Santee, this fifth day of Auguſt, 1781, and in the ſixth year of the independence of America.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

By his excellency's command,
JOHN-SANDFORD DART, pro ſecretary.

NOTE XXXIX. PAGE 282.

Ladies' petition for colonel Iſaac Hayne.

To the right honourable lord Rawdon, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in South-Carolina, and to colonel Balfour, commandant at Charleſton.

My lord and ſir,

WE ſhould have reaſon to reproach ourſelves of having omitted a proper occaſion of manifeſting the tenderneſs peculiarly characteriſtick of our ſex, if we did not profeſs ourſelves deeply intereſted and affected by the imminent and ſhocking doom of the moſt unfortunate mr. Hayne, and if we did not entreat you in

in the moſt earneſt manner graciouſly to avert, prolong or mitigate it. We do not even think, much leſs do we intend to imply, in the remoteſt degree, that your ſentence is unjuſt; but we are induced to hope, that every end it propoſes may be equally anſwered, as if carried into execution; for to us it does not appear probable that any whom it is intended to influence and deter from ſimilar delinquency, will be encouraged with the hope of impunity, by reaſon of any favour ſhewn him, as they muſt ſurely reflect that it was owing to certain cauſes and circumſtances that will not apply to them. We preſume to make this interceſſion for him, and to hope that it will not prove fruitleſs, from the knowledge of your diſpoſitions in particular, as well as from the reflection in general, that humanity is rarely ſeparable from courage, and that the gallant ſoldier feels as much reluctance to cauſe, by deliberate decrees, the infliction of death on men in cold blood, as he does ardour in the day of battle and heat of action to make the enemies of his country periſh by the ſword. He may rejoice to behold his laurels ſprinkled with the blood of armed and reſiſting adverſaries, but will regret to ſee them wet with the tears of unhappy orphans, mourning the loſs of a tender, amiable and worthy parent, executed like a vile and infamous felon.

To the praiſes, that men who have been witneſſes and ſharers of your dangers and ſervices in the

the field, may ſound of your military virtues and proweſs, we truſt you will give the ladies occaſion to add the praiſes of your milder and ſofter virtues by furniſhing them with a ſtriking proof of your clemency and politeneſs in the preſent inſtance. May the unhappy object of our petition owe to that clemency and politeneſs, to our prayers and to his own merits in other reſpects, what you may think him not entitled to if policy and juſtice were not outweighed in his behalf. To any other men in power than ſuch as we conceive you both to be, we ſhould employ on the occaſion more ingenuity and art to dreſs up and enforce the many pathetick and favourable circumſtances attending his caſe, in order to move your paſſions and engage your favour, but we think this will be needleſs, and is obviated by your own ſpontaneous feelings, humane conſiderations and liberal reaſonings. Nor ſhall we dwell on his moſt excellent character, the outrages and exceſſes, and perhaps murders prevented by him, to which innocent and unarmed individuals were expoſed in an extenſive manner; nor ſhall we here lay any ſtreſs on the moſt grievous ſhock his numerous and reſpectable connexions muſt ſuſtain by his death, aggravated by the mode of it; nor ſhall we do more than remind you of the complicated diſtreſs and ſufferings that muſt befall his young and promiſing children, to whom perhaps death would be more comfortable than the ſtate of orphanage they will be left in. All theſe things we underſtand have

been

been already repreſented, and we are ſure will have their due weight with men of your humane and benevolent minds. Many of us have already ſubſcribed to a former petition for him, and hope you will regard our doing it again not as importunity, but earneſtneſs; and we pray moſt fervently that you will for-ever greatly oblige us by not letting us do it in vain.

We are, my lord and ſir,
with all reſpect your very anxious
petitioners and humble ſervants.

NOTE XL. PAGE 283.

No. I.

To mr. Hayne.

SIR, 26th July, 1781.

I AM charged by the commandant to inform you, that a council of general officers will aſſemble to-morrow at ten o'clock, in the hall of the province, to try you.

I am, &c.

C. FRASER,
major of the town.

No. II.

To mr. Hayne.

Thurſday evening, 27th July, 1781.

SIR,

I AM ordered by the commandant to acquaint you,

you, that instead of a council of general officers, as is mentioned in my letter of this morning, a court of enquiry, composed of four general officers and five captains, will be assembled to-morrow at ten o'clock, in the province hall, for the purpose of determining under what point of view you ought to be considered.

You will immediately be allowed pen, ink and paper; and any person that you choose to appoint, will be permitted to accompany you as your council, at the same hour and place.

I am, &c.

C. Fraser,
major of the town.

No. III.

To mr. Hayne, in the provost's prison.

MEMORANDUM.

Sunday, 29th July, 1781.

The adjutant of the town will be so good as to go to colonel Hayne in the provost's prison, and inform him, that, in consequence of the court of enquiry held yesterday, and the preceding evening, on his account, lord Rawdon, and the commandant, lieutenant-colonel Nesbit Balfour, have resolved upon his execution on Tuesday the thirty-first instant, at six o'clock, for having been found under arms, and employed in raising

raiſing a regiment to oppoſe the Britiſh government, though he had become a ſubject, and had accepted the protection of that government, after the reduction of Charleſton.

(Signed) C. Fraser,
major of the town.

A letter from colonel Hayne to lord Rawdon, and colonel Balfour.

In the provoſt's priſon, 29th July, 1781.

My lord, and ſir,

On Thurſday morning I had the honour of receiving a letter from major Fraſer, by which he informed me, 'that a council of general officers 'would be aſſembled the next day for my trial,' and, on the evening of the ſame day, I received another letter from the ſame officer, acquainting me, 'that inſtead of that, a court of enquiry 'would ſit, for the purpoſe of deciding under 'what point of view I ought to be conſidered.'— It was alſo told, 'that any perſon whom I ſhould 'appoint would be permitted to accompany me 'as my counſel.' Having never entertained any other idea of a court of enquiry, nor heard of any other being formed of it, than of its ſerving merely to precede a council of war, or ſome other tribunal for examining the circumſtances more fully, excepting in the caſe of a ſpy; and

mr. Jarvis, lieutenant marſhal to the provoſt, not having ſucceeded in finding the perſon whom I named for my counſel, I did not take the pains to ſummon any witneſſes, though it would have been in my power to have produced many; and I preſented myſelf before the council without any aſſiſtance whatever. When I was before that aſſembly, I was farther convinced that I had not been deceived in my conjectures; and I found that the members of it were not ſworn, nor the witneſſes examined upon oath; and all the members, as well as every other perſon preſent, might eaſily have perceived, by the queſtions which I aſked, and by the whole tenor of my conduct, that I had not the leaſt notion that I was tried or examined upon an affair on which my life and death depended. Neither do I believe that the members themſelves had an idea of that ſort.

In the caſe of ſpies, a court of enquiry is all that can be neceſſary, becauſe the ſimple fact, whether the perſon is, or is not a ſpy, is all that can be the object of their reſearches, and his having entered the lines of the enemy's camp, or the garriſon, ſubjects him to military execution. As that accuſation neither is, nor ever has been brought againſt me, I humbly conceive that the information which I received, namely, that the court would make enquiry concerning what point of view I ought to be conſidered under, could not be taken as a ſufficient notice of their having an intention to try me then, but could only be thought

thought to ſignify that they were to take it into conſideration whether I ought to be looked upon as a Britiſh ſubject, or as an American; that in the firſt caſe I ſhould undergo a legal and impartial trial; in the ſecond, I ſhould be ſet at liberty on my parole.

JUDGE then, my lord, and ſir, of the aſtoniſhment I muſt have been in, when I found that they had drawn me by ſurprize into a procedure tending to judgment, without knowing it to be ſuch, and deprived me of the ability of making a legal defence, which it would have been very eaſy for me to have done, founded both in law and in fact; when I ſaw myſelf deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of counſel or of witneſſes; and when they abruptly informed me, that after the procedure of that court I had been condemned to die, and that in a very few days. Immediately upon receiving this notice, I ſent for the lawyer whom I had originally choſen for my counſel. I here encloſe his opinion concerning the legality of the proceſs held againſt me; and I beg that I may be permitted to refer myſelf to him. I can aſſure you with the utmoſt truth, that I both had, and have many reaſons to urge in my defence, if you will grant me the favour of a regular trial; if not, (which I cannot however ſuppoſe from your juſtice and equity) I earneſtly entreat that my execution may be deferred, that I may at leaſt take a laſt farewell of my children, and prepare myſelf for the dreadful change.

I HOPE that you will return me a ſpeedy anſwer; and am, with reſpect, &c.

ISAAC HAYNE.

No. V.

Anſwer of lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour to my letter of the twenty-ninth of July, and delivered on the thirtieth, at one o'clock, into the hands of the town-major (Fraſer.)

'I HAVE to inform you, that your execution is 'not ordered in conſequence of any ſentence from 'a court of enquiry, but by virtue of the autho-'rity with which the commander in chief in South-'Carolina and the commanding officer in Charleſ-'ton are inveſted. And their reſolves on this 'ſubject are fixed and unchangeable.' I then begged major Fraſer that he would ſeriouſly entreat the aboveſaid officers to grant a reſpite, that I might have time to ſend for my children, and take of them the laſt farewell. At three o'clock, the town-adjutant (Cooper) brought me for anſwer, that my requeſt was rejected. On Tueſday, July thirty-one, at one in the morning, the deputy provoſt, (Marſhal) brought me information —'that it was time for me to prepare for death, 'as he had juſt received orders to that effect, and 'that I was to leave my apartment at five o'clock.'

IN leſs than half an hour major Fraſer came in and delivered the following meſſage:

'COLONEL

'COLONEL Hayne, I am to acquaint you, 'that in conſequence of a petition ſigned by go- 'vernor Bull and many more, as alſo of your 'prayer of yeſterday, and the humane treatment 'ſhewn by you to the Britiſh priſoners who fell 'into your hands, you are reſpited for forty-eight 'hours.' I thanked the commanding officer for this reſpite: this gave me an opportunity of ſee- ing my children.

THE major had been gone but a few mi- nutes, when he returned to tell me that he had forgot part of his meſſage: this was, 'that if 'general Greene ſhould offer to expoſtulate in my 'favour, with the commanding officer, from that 'inſtant the reſpite would ceaſe, and I ſhould be 'ordered for immediate execution.'

No. VI.

AUGUST 1, 1781, three o'clock, A. M. Mr. Cooper, the town-adjutant, came in and read to me the following written meſſage: 'Lord Rawdon 'and colonel Balfour have conſented to grant to 'mr. Hayne a reſpite for forty-eight hours.' My anſwer was, 'that I thanked them.'

No. VII.

CONSULTATION on the caſe of colonel Hayne, encloſed in his letter to lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour.

COLONEL

COLONEL Hayne being detained in the provoſt's priſon, and taken, as it is given out, in arms againſt his majeſty, received from major Fraſer, on Thurſday night, a notice in theſe words: 'A court of enquiry, compoſed of four 'ſtaff-officers and five captains, will aſſemble to-'morrow, at ten in the morning, in the province 'hall, in order to determine under what point of 'view you ought to be conſidered.' The court met at the time appointed, and the priſoner made his appearance. Neither the members nor witneſſes were upon oath. The priſoner conſidering it only as a court of enquiry, which was held previous to a formal trial, did not avail himſelf of the liberty granted him to employ counſel, nor did he produce any witneſs to aſcertain a great number of facts tending to his defence, for which, indeed, he was allowed but a very ſhort time. He was apprized this morning, that the ſaid lord and colonel, on the riſing of the ſaid court of enquiry, came to the reſolution of having the ſaid Hayne executed on Thurſday, July thirty-firſt. Query from the priſoner: 'Are ſuch pro-'ceedings authorized by any law, and is the 'ſubſequent ſentence lawful?'

ANSWER.

I. IN the notice given you, that the intention was to examine you before a court of enquiry, there is not, even according to the rules of martial law, a ſufficient certainty, nor any expreſs accuſation

accuſation which might be the object of the court's enquiry, or of your defence.

II. No enemy can be ſentenced to death in conſequence of any military article, or any other martial proceſs that I know of, without a previous trial, except ſpies, who, by the articles of war, are expreſsly debarred from that right.

III. No ſubject whatever can or ought to be deprived of his life, liberty or fortune, unleſs it be by the unanimous award of his peers, and according to the laws of the country. And, to my knowledge, there is not a law which can authorize a judgment and ſentence like that which they have taken upon themſelves to pronounce in this affair. It is an invariable rule, eſtabliſhed by law, that every man is to be deemed innocent till his guilt is proved; that being found or taken in arms does not argue criminality ſo far as to hinder the culprit from making his defence, either by proving a commiſſion, or upon any other ground; and that many of thoſe who had taken up arms have been acquitted upon ſuch proofs.

IV. In conſideration of the principles above adduced, I am poſitively of opinion, 'that taking you in the light of an enemy, (not of a 'ſpy) the proceſs carried on againſt you is not 'lawful; but if you are to be conſidered as a 'ſubject,

'ſubject, ſuch proceedings militate againſt, and 'are diametrically contrary to all laws.'

(Signed) JOHN COLCOCK.

Charleſton, July 29, 1781.

NOTE XLI. PAGE 285.

Extract of a letter from N. Balfour to major-general Greene, dated Charleſton, September 3, 1781.

I COME now to that part which has reſpect to the execution of colonel Hayne, on which head I am to inform you it took place by the joint-order of lord Rawdon and myſelf, in conſequence of the moſt expreſs directions from lord Cornwallis to us, in regard to all thoſe who ſhould be found in arms, after being at their own requeſts received as ſubjects, ſince the capitulation of Charleſton and the clear conqueſt of the province in the ſummer of 1780; more eſpecially ſuch as ſhould have accepted of commiſſions, or might diſtinguiſh themſelves in inducing a revolt of the country. To his lordſhip therefore, as being anſwerable for this meaſure, the appeal will more properly be made, and on ſuch appeal I muſt not doubt, every fit ſatisfaction will be tendered; but as the threat in your letter is of a nature which may extend its conſequences to the moſt diſagreeable and ſerious lengths, I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without ſome general remarks, ſtill referring for the particular juſtification to the opinion

opinion and deciſion of lord Cornwallis, immediately under whom I have the honour to act.

And firſt I muſt conceive, without adverting to the particular cauſe of diſpute between Great-Britain and this country, that, on the ſubjection of any territory, the inhabitants of it owe allegiance to the conquering power (in the preſent caſe a voluntary acknowledgment was given, and conſequent protection received;) and that, on any account to recede from it, is juſtly puniſhable with death, by whatever law, either civil or military, is then prevalent.

To juſtify retaliation I am convinced you will agree a parity of circumſtances in all reſpects is required; without ſuch every ſhadow of juſtice is removed, and vengeance only points to indiſcriminate horrors.

NOTE XLII. Page 285.

Camp, ſouthern army, High Hills of Santee,
20th Auguſt, 1781.

THE ſubſcribers, commiſſioned officers ſerving in the ſouthern army, beg leave to repreſent to the honourable major-general Greene, that they are informed not only by current reports, but by official and acknowledged authority, that, contrary to expreſs ſtipulations in the capitulation of Charleſton, ſigned the twelfth day

of May, 1780, a number of very reſpectable inhabitants of that town and others were confined on board priſon-ſhips, and ſent to St. Auguſtine, and other places diſtant from their homes, families and friends. That notwithſtanding the general cartel ſettled for exchange of priſoners in the ſouthern department, and agreed to the third of May laſt, ſeveral officers of militia and other gentlemen, ſubjects of the United States, have been and ſtill are detained in captivity; that the commanding officer of the Britiſh troops in Charleſton, regardleſs of the principles, and even the expreſs tenor of the ſaid cartel, hath not only preſumed to diſcriminate between the militia and other ſubjects of the United States priſoners of war, partially determining who were and who were not objects of exchange, but hath even dared to execute, in the moſt ignominious manner, colonel Hayne, of the militia of the ſtate of South-Carolina, a gentleman amiable in character, reſpectable in his connexions, and of eminent abilities: and this violent act, as cruel as it was unneceſſary and unjuſt, we are informed is attempted to be juſtified by the imputed crime of treaſon, founded upon the unfortunate ſufferer's having, in circumſtances peculiarly diſtreſſing, accepted of what is called a protection from the Britiſh government.

If every inhabitant of this country who, being bound by the tender ties of family-connexions, and fettered by domeſtick embarraſſments, is forced

forced to ſubmit to the misfortune of falling into the hands of the enemy, muſt therefore become a ſubject of ſuch inhuman authority, and if ſuch ſubjects are liable to be tried by martial law for offences againſt the ſaid civil government of the Britiſh nation, their ſituation is truly deplorable; but we conceive forms of protection which are granted one day, and retracted, violated, diſclaimed or deſerted the next, can enjoin no ſuch condition or obligation upon perſons who accept them. We conſider the citizens of America as independent of the government of Great-Britain as thoſe of Great-Britain are of the United States, or of any other ſovereign power, and think it juſt the ſeverities and indulgences to priſoners of war ought to be reciprocal. We therefore, with ſubmiſſion, beg leave to recommend that a ſtrict enquiry be made into the ſeveral matters mentioned, and if aſcertained, that you will be pleaſed to retaliate in the moſt effectual manner by a ſimilar treatment of Britiſh ſubjects which are or may be in your power.

PERMIT us to add, that while we ſeriouſly lament the neceſſity of ſuch a ſevere expedient, and commiſerate the ſufferings to which individuals will neceſſarily be expoſed, we are not unmindful that ſuch a meaſure may, in its conſequences, involve our own lives in additional dangers; but we had rather forego temporary diſtinctions, and commit ourſelves to the moſt deſperate ſituations, than

than proſecute this juſt and neceſſary war upon terms ſo unequal and ſo diſhonourable.

We are, ſir, with the greateſt regard,
and moſt reſpectful ſentiments of eſteem,
your moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervants.

[Signed by all the officers of the army.]

The honourable major-
general Greene.

NOTE XLIII. PAGE 285.

PROCLAMATION.

By NATHANIEL GREENE, *eſquire, major-general, commanding the American army in the ſouthern department.*

WHEREAS colonel Iſaac Hayne, commanding a regiment of militia in the ſervice of the United States, was taken priſoner by a party of Britiſh troops, and after a rigorous detention in the Provoſt's priſon at Charleſton, was condemned and executed on the 4th of this month, in the moſt cruel and unjuſtifiable manner, in open violation of the cartel agreed upon between the two armies, for the releaſe and exchange of all priſoners of war; and it being no leſs the duty than the inclination of the army to reſent every violence offered to the good citizens of

of America, to diſcountenance all thoſe diſtinctions which they have endeavoured to eſtabliſh, in making a difference in various orders of men, found under arms for the ſupport of the independence of the United States; and further conſidering that theſe violences are committed with a view of terrifying the good people, and by that means preventing them from acting in conformity with their political intereſts and private inclinations; and that this method of trying and puniſhing, in conſequence of thoſe diſtinctions, is no leſs oppoſite to the ſpirit of the Britiſh, than it is incluſive of an unwarrantable infringement of all the laws of humanity, and the rights of the free citizens of the United States; from theſe conſiderations I have thought proper to iſſue the preſent proclamation, expreſsly to declare, 'that it is 'my intention to make repriſals for all ſuch in-'human inſults, as often as they ſhall take place.' And whereas the enemy ſeems willing to expoſe the ſmall number of the deceived and ſeduced inhabitants, who are attached to their intereſts, if they can but find an opportunity of ſacrificing the great number that have ſtood forth in defence of our cauſe; I farther declare, 'that it is my in-'tention to take the officers of the regular forces, 'and not the ſeduced inhabitants who have joined 'their army, for the objects of my repriſals.'— But while I am determined to reſent every inſult that may be offered to the United States for having maintained our independence, I cannot but lament the neceſſity I am under of having recourſe

courſe to meaſures ſo extremely wounding to the ſentiments of humanity, and ſo contrary to the liberal principles upon which I wiſh to conduct the war.

Given at the head-quarters at Camden, 26th of Auguſt, 1781, in the ſixth year of American independence.

(Signed) NATHANIEL GREENE.

NOTE XLIV. PAGE 288.

The treatment of the priſoners of war taken by the Britiſh in South-Carolina, in the year 1780, *is more particularly ſtated in the two following letters; the firſt of which was written by doctor Olyphant, director of the American hoſpitals in the ſouthern department, on the 7th of May* 1781, *to general Moultrie, in the following words:*

'YOU will obſerve by this month's return 'the number of ſick among our people con-'tinues great, eſpecially as this is a healthy ſea-'ſon of the year; but when the reaſons of it are 'conſidered, it is not much to be wondered at. 'Men ſent immediately from a ſick hoſpital on 'board of priſon-ſhips, and confined to a ſalt di-'et, cannot poſſibly recover their health and vi-'gour. This likewiſe accounts for the many 'deaths.

'I AM farther to acquaint you of our convale-

'ſcents

'ſcents being diſcharged before they are thought 'fit by our phyſicians to be diſmiſſed under ſuch 'circumſtances. This is directed by doctor Hayes, 'the director-general of the Britiſh hoſpitals, who 'is commanded, as he informs me, to do ſo by 'the commandant.'

The ſame ſubject is more particularly ſtated in a letter addreſſed to the author of this hiſtory by the honourable Peter Fayſſoux, M. D. member of the council of the ſtate of South-Carolina, who ſerved his country during the late war in the character of chief phyſician to the American hoſpitals in the ſouthern department, which was in the following words:

'Charleſton, March 26, 1785.

'SIR,

'IN compliance with your requeſt, I now ſend 'you ſome of the moſt remarkable facts relative to 'the treatment the American priſoners, the ſick in 'particular, received, during their captivity in 'Charleſton, from the Britiſh. The director-ge- 'neral having been confined by the Britiſh, the im- 'mediate charge of the American hoſpital devolved 'on me, I can therefore anſwer for the truth of 'this account, as every circumſtance was within my 'own knowledge. From the ſurrender of Charleſ- 'ton to the period of general Gates's defeat, I do 'not think we had any material cauſe of com- 'plaint.

'THE

'THE regulations for the government of the 'hoſpital, the ſupplies of medicine and diet, were 'in general preſcribed by ourſelves and acceded 'to by the Britiſh.

'AFTER the defeat of general Gates our ſuf-'ferings commenced. The Britiſh appeared to 'have adopted a different mode of conduct to-'wards their priſoners, and proceeded from one 'ſtep to another until they fully diſplayed them-'ſelves, void of faith, honour or humanity, and 'capable of the moſt ſavage acts of barbarity.

'THE unhappy men who belonged to the mi-'litia, and were taken priſoners on Gates's defeat, 'experienced the firſt effects of the cruelty of 'their new ſyſtem.

'THESE men were confined on board of pri-'ſon-ſhips, in numbers by no means proportioned 'to the ſize of the veſſels, immediately after a 'march of one hundred and twenty miles, in the 'moſt ſickly ſeaſon of this unhealthy climate.

'THESE veſſels were in general infected with 'the ſmall-pox; very few of the priſoners had 'gone through that diſorder. A repreſentation 'was made to the Britiſh commandant of their 'ſituation, and permiſſion was obtained for one 'of our ſurgeons to inoculate them—this was the 'utmoſt extent of their humanity—the wretched 'objects were ſtill confined on board of the priſon-

ſhips,

'ſhips, and fed on ſalt proviſions, without the 'leaſt medical aid, or any proper kind of nouriſh-'ment. The effect that naturally followed, was a 'ſmall-pox with a fever of the putrid type; and 'to ſuch as ſurvived the ſmall-pox, a putrid dy-'ſentery—and, from theſe cauſes, the deaths of at 'leaſt one hundred and fifty of the unhappy vic-'tims. Such were the appearances, and ſuch was 'the termination of the generality of the caſes 'brought to the general hoſpital after the erupti-'on of the ſmall-pox—before the eruption, not a 'ſingle individual was ſuffered to be brought on 'ſhore. If any thing can ſurpaſs the above rela-'tion in barbarity, it is the following account:—

'THE continental troops, by the articles of ca-'pitulation, were to be detained priſoners in ſome 'place contiguous to Charleſton; the barracks 'were pitched on as the proper place; this was 'agreed to by both parties.—The Britiſh, in vio-'lation of their ſolemn compact, put theſe people 'on board of priſon-ſhips.—Confined in large 'numbers on board of theſe veſſels, and fed on 'ſalt proviſions in this climate in the months of 'October and November, they naturally gene-'rated a putrid fever from the human miaſma. 'This ſoon became highly contagious. The ſick 'brought into the general hoſpital from the pri-'ſon-ſhips, generally died in the courſe of two or 'three days, with all the marks of a highly ſep-'tick ſtate. Application was made to mr. de 'Roſette, the Britiſh commiſſary of priſoners; the

'vaſt increaſe of the numbers of deaths was 'pointed out, and he was requeſted to have pro- 'per ſteps taken to check the progreſs of a diſ- 'order that threatened to deſtroy the whole of 'the priſoners.

'In conſequence of this application mr. Fiſher, 'our commiſſary of priſoners, and mr. Fraſer, 'who formerly practiſed phyſick in this country, 'but then acted as a Britiſh deputy commiſſary, 'were ordered to inſpect the ſtate of the priſoners 'in the veſſels. This report confirmed the truth 'of what had been advanced—this can be proved 'by a very particular circumſtance.—My hopes 'were very ſanguine that ſomething would be 'done for the relief of thoſe unhappy perſons, but 'they were entirely fruſtrated by a perſon from 'whom I did not, and ought not to have ex- 'pected it. Dr. John M'Namara Hays, phyſi- 'cian to the Britiſh army, a perſon who had been 'taken by the Americans on the capture of Bur- 'goyne, who had received the politeſt treatment 'from the Americans when a priſoner, and who 'had the generoſity to acknowledge the uſage 'he had met with—this perſon was ordered to 'report on the ſtate of the priſoners—to my aſto- 'niſhment, I was informed his report was, that 'the priſon-ſhips were not crouded, perfectly 'wholeſome, and no appearance of infectious diſ- 'orders amongſt the priſoners.

'I then determined to make one more effort

'for

'for the relief of theſe unhappy perſons—for this 'purpoſe I had two of the dead bodies kept in 'the area of the hoſpital, and, upon doctor Hays's 'daily viſit to our hoſpital, I marked to him the 'appearances of the ſubjects, whoſe bodies were 'highly tinged with a yellow ſuffuſion, petechied 'over the breaſt and trunk, with conſiderable ec-'chymoſis from extravaſated or diſſolved blood 'about the neck, breaſt and upper extremities. I 'inquired if it was poſſible a doubt could remain re-'ſpecting the nature of their diſorder, and expreſſ-'ed my ſurpriſe at the report he had made. The 'words of his reply were, 'that the confinement 'of the priſoners in priſon-ſhips was the great eye-'ſore, and there was no help for that, it muſt be 'done.' The diſorder in conſequence continued 'until the cold weather; the number of deaths, 'joined with the number that were compelled by 'this treatment to inliſt with the Britiſh, removed 'in a great meaſure the cauſe. Hitherto a num-'ber of our priſoners who were tradeſmen had 'been permitted to remain in the barracks, or in 'the city, where they were employed by the Bri-'tiſh—about the month of January 1781, they 'were all confined to the barracks, and there 'Britiſh emiſſaries were very buſy amongſt them, 'to perſuade them to inliſt in their new corps. 'About the ſame time a ſupply of clothing, and 'ſome money to procure neceſſaries, arrived from 'the Congreſs for the uſe of the priſoners.

'Mr. Fiſher, our commiſſary, was prevented

'from

'from diſtributing the clothing, and the priſon-
'ers were informed it was a deception, for no
'ſupplies had arrived for their uſe. Their motive
'was, that by the complicated diſtreſs of naked-
'neſs and impriſonment, their patience would be
'exhauſted, and inliſtment with them would
'enſue.

'To prevent this, means were found to have
'ſeveral bales of the clothing brought to the pic-
'quets which incloſed the barracks, and in ſight
'of our ſoldiers; this meaſure eſtabliſhed the fact.

'DISAPPOINTED from this quarter, the Britiſh
'commandant or his miniſters determined to ob-
'ſerve no meaſures but what would accompliſh
'their own purpoſes. All the ſoldiers in the bar-
'racks, including the convaleſcents, were parad-
'ed, and harangued by Fraſer, the Britiſh de-
'puty commiſſary, and one Low, a recruiting
'officer for one of the Britiſh corps. The con-
'cluſion of the affair was, that ſuch as choſe to
'inliſt with the Britiſh ſhould leave the ranks, and
'the remainder go on board of the priſon-ſhips.
'A few who had been previouſly engaged with-
'drew from the ranks; the large majority that
'ſtood firm, after three different ſolicitations
'without effect, had this dreadful ſentence pro-
'nounced by Fraſer, 'that they ſhould be put
'on board of the priſon-ſhips, where they could
'not expect any thing more but to periſh miſera-
'bly; and that the rations hitherto allowed for

'the

'the ſupport of their wives and children, from 'that day ſhould be withheld; the conſequence 'of which would be, they muſt ſtarve in the 'ſtreets.'

'HUMAN nature recoiled from ſo horrid a de-'claration—for a few ſeconds the unhappy vic-'tims ſeemed ſtupified at the dreadful proſpect; a 'gloomy and univerſal ſilence prevailed.—This 'was followed by a loud huzza for general Waſh-'ington; death and the priſon-ſhips was the una-'nimous determination.

'THE hoſpital at this time was reduced to the 'greateſt diſtreſs imaginable—the ſick without 'clothing, covering, or any neceſſary but one 'pound of beef and bread—very little ſugar, no 'wine, and rarely a ſmall allowance of rum.

'WE had no reſources, and the Britiſh would 'only furniſh the abſolute neceſſaries of life. 'The officers of the hoſpital, on the mildeſt re-'preſentation, were threatened and inſulted, fre-'quently prohibited from viſiting the ſick, once 'I remember for three days.

'IT was ſcarcely poſſible for men to ſupport 'ſuch an accumulated load of miſery; but when 'leaſt expected, a relief was adminiſtered to us. 'A ſubſcription for the ſupport of the ſick was 'filled by people of every denomination with amaz-'ing rapidity. Several of the ladies of Charleſ-

'ton,

'ton, laying aſide the diſtinction of whig and tory,
'were inſtrumental and aſſiduous in procuring and
'preparing every neceſſary of clothing and pro-
'per nouriſhment for our poor, worn-out and de-
'ſponding ſoldiers.

'THUS, ſir, I have furniſhed you with ſome of
'the moſt material occurrences of that unhappy
'time. I have not exaggerated or written a ſin-
'gle circumſtance from hatred or prejudice. I
'could furniſh you with a long detail of cruelty
'and diſtreſs exerciſed on individuals.—Major
'Bocquet's caſe, expoſed in an open boat for
'twelve hours in a violent fever, with a bliſter-
'ing plaſter on his back, extended at length in
'the bottom of the boat, then put into the dun-
'geon of the provoſt with the vileſt felons and
'murderers, left to languiſh under his complaint
'until his death ſeemed morally certain, only re-
'leaſed from his confinement from the dread of
'a juſt retaliation—the moment his recovery ſeem-
'ed probable, again hurried back to the provoſt,
'there to remain until the general exchange re-
'leaſed him from their power.

'THIS inſtance of ſeverity exerciſed on an in-
'dividual, whoſe only crime was a ſteady attach-
'ment to the cauſe of his country, and a deter-
'mined reſolution to keep ſacred the ſolemn oath
'he had taken in its cauſe, would appear as no-
'thing, were I to enumerate the ſcenes of woe
'and diſtreſs brought on many citizens of this
'once

'once happy country, by Britiſh cruelty and 'unneceſſary ſeverity. I am ſure every breaſt 'would be ſoftened, even tears would fall from 'Britiſh eyes.

'I am, ſir, with eſteem, yours, &c.

'P. Fayssoux.'

NOTE XLV. Page 297.

Charleſton, May 17, 1781.

Gentlemen,

SEVERAL priſoners on parole, having been this day taken up, and ſent on board ſhip, the motives for which are explained in the encloſed copy of a letter to them; I am directed by the commandant to deſire you will inſert the ſame in your next paper, for the information of the publick.

I am, gentlemen,
your moſt obedient ſervant,
H. Barry, ſecretary, and D. A. general.

Meſſrs. Wells and ſon, printers to the King's moſt excellent majeſty.

Charleſton, May 17, 1781.

Centlemen,

Many have been the repreſentations which the outrages committed by the American troops, and their violations of all the humaner principles of war, have

have compelled me to make to ſuch of their officers as commanded parties in this province: but more particularly have I been obliged to remonſtrate againſt the rigorous treatment, in many caſes extending to death, which the loyal militia, when made priſoners, moſt invariably experience.

THESE repreſentations, gentlemen, having been grounded on the trueſt principles of benevolence, and which it behoves each ſide equally to have advanced, I was as much ſurprized as I was mortified, to find them in all caſes practically diſregarded, and in many, wholly neglected. It is therefore become my duty, however irkſome to myſelf, to try how far a more decided line of conduct will prevail, and whether the ſafety of avowed adherents to their cauſe, may not induce the American troops to extend a proper clemency to thoſe whoſe principles arm them in defence of Britiſh government.

INDUCED by theſe motives, I have conceived it an act of expediency to ſeize on your perſons, and retain them as hoſtages for the good uſage of all the loyal militia who are, or may be made priſoners of war, reſolving to regulate, in the full extent, your treatment by the meaſure of theirs, and which my feelings make me hope may hereafter be moſt lenient.

AND as I have thought it neceſſary that thoſe perſons

perſons, who ſome time ſince were ſent from hence to St. Auguſtine, ſhould, in this reſpect, be conſidered in the ſame point of view as yourſelves, I ſhall ſend notice there, that they be likewiſe held as ſureties for a future propriety of conduct towards our militia priſoners.

REASONS ſo cogent, and which have only the moſt humane purpoſes for their objects, will, I doubt not, be conſidered by every reaſonable perſon as a ſufficient juſtification of this moſt neceſſary meaſure, even in thoſe points where it may militate with the capitulation of Charleſton; though indeed the daily infractions of it, by the breach of paroles, would alone well warrant this procedure.

HAVING been thus candid in ſtating to you the cauſes for this conduct, I can have no objections to your making any proper uſe of this letter you may judge to your advantage, and will therefore, ſhould you deem it expedient, grant what flags of truce may be neceſſary to carry out copies of it to any officer commanding American troops in theſe parts, and in the mean time the fulleſt directions will be given, that your preſent ſituation be rendered as eligible as the nature of circumſtances will admit.

I am, gentlemen,
your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
(Signed) N. BALFOUR.

To the militia priſoners of war late on parole in Charleſton, now on board a priſon-ſhip.

Priſon-ſhip, Torbay, Charleſton harbour,
May 18, 1781.

In conformity to your letter of yeſterday, we embrace your offer of forwarding a copy of the ſame, together with a roll of the priſoners on board this ſhip, and a letter addreſſed to major-general Greene, all which are encloſed. We could wiſh one of our number might be ſuffered to attend the flag of truce.

We are, ſir,
your moſt obedient humble ſervants,
STEPHEN MOORE, lieut. col.
JOHN BARNWELL, major.

In behalf of ourſelves and one hundred and thirty other priſoners.

Lieut. col. Neſbit Balfour.

Torbay priſon-ſhip, off Charleſton, May 19, 1781.

SIR,

YESTERDAY we tranſmitted to you a letter, encloſing a copy of yours, with a liſt of one hundred and twenty-nine priſoners of war, confined on board this ſhip, which we hope is forwarded to major-general Greene, agreeable to your promiſe, and make no doubt but that your feelings as a gentleman will, upon this occaſion, induce you to do every thing in your power to liberate, from a moſt injurious and diſagreeable confinement, thoſe againſt whom there can exiſt no charge of diſhonour, and whoſe only crime, if ſuch it can

poſſibly

poſſibly be termed by men of liberal ideas, is an inflexible attachment to what they conceive to be the rights of their country, and who have ſcorned to deceive you by unmeaning profeſſions. In juſtice to ourſelves we muſt ſay, that if the Americans have at any time ſo far diveſted themſelves of that character of humanity and generoſity, which have ever diſtinguiſhed them, we feel ourſelves moſt ſenſibly mortified, but are induced, from the generous treatment of colonels Lechmere, Rugely, Fenwicke and Kelſall, and their parties, and from a number of other inſtances which might be eaſily adduced, to believe, that the outrages which you complain of, muſt be the effect of private reſentment (ſubſiſting between Britiſh ſubjects and thoſe who, after having availed themſelves of the royal proclamation, have reſumed their arms, in oppoſition to that government) and totally unſanctioned by any American officer, and which we are well convinced they would reprobate and would puniſh in the moſt exemplary manner, could the perpetrators of ſuch horrid acts be detected.

In a war, circumſtanced as the preſent, there will be ſome inſtances of enormities on both ſides. We would not wiſh to particularize, but doubt not there are acts of cruelty frequently committed by the irregulars of your army, and are convinced, that on your part, as well as our own, they are generally to be attributed to an ignorance of the rules of warfare, and a want of diſcipline;

cipline; but the idea of detaining in cloſe cuſtody as hoſtages a number of men, fairly taken in arms, and entitled to the benefits of a ſolemn capitulation, is ſo repugnant to the laws of war, and the uſage of civilized nations, that we apprehend it will rather be the means of increaſing its horrors, than anſwering thoſe purpoſes of humanity you expect.

As a moſt ſtrict adherence to the terms of our paroles, and a firm reliance on your honour, have been the only reaſons of our being in your power at preſent, we truſt, that upon equitable propoſals being made for our exchange by general Greene, no objections will be raiſed, but every thing done to bring the matter to the moſt ſpeedy iſſue.

As you have thought proper to publiſh your reaſons for ſeizing upon our perſons, we requeſt our anſwer may alſo be inſerted in the next gazette.

We are, ſir,
your moſt obedient humble ſervants,
(Signed) STEPHEN MOORE,
JOHN BARNWELL,
SAMUEL LOCKHART,
JOHN BADDELEY,
BENJAMIN GUERARD,
CHARLES PINKNEY, jun.
in behalf of the whole.

Lieut. col. Balfour, com. of Charleſton.

Priſon-

Priſon-ſhip, Torbay, Charleſton harbour,
May 18, 1781.

We have the honour of encloſing you a copy of a letter from colonel Balfour, commandant of Charleſton, which was handed us immediately on our being put on board this ſhip; the letter, ſpeaking for itſelf, needs no comment; your wiſdom will beſt dictate the notice it merits. We would juſt beg leave to obſerve, that ſhould it fall to the lot of all, or any of us, to be made victims, agreeably to the menaces therein contained, we have only to regret that our blood cannot be diſpoſed of more to the advancement of the glorious cauſe to which we have adhered. A ſeparate roll of our names attend this letter.

With the greateſt reſpect we are,
ſir, your moſt obedient and
moſt humble ſervants,

Stephen Moore, lieut. col.
North-Carolina militia.

John Barnwell, major,
S. Carolina militia, for ourſelves and 130 priſoners.

Major-general Greene.

On board the priſon-ſhip Torbay.

William Axon, Samuel Aſh, George Arthur, John Anthony, Ralph Atmore, John Baddeley, Peter Bonnetheau, Henry Benbridge, Joſeph Ball, Joſeph Bee, Nathaniel Blundell, James Bricken, Francis Bayle, William Baſquin, John Clarke, jun.

Thomas

Thomas Cooke, Norwood Conyers, James Cox, John Dorſius, Joſeph Dunlap, revd. James Edmonds, Thomas Elliot, Joſeph Elliot, John Evans, John Eberley, Joſeph Glover, Francis Grott, Mitchell Gargie, William Graves, Peter Guerard, Jacob Henry, David Hamilton, Thomas Harris, William Hornby, Daniel Jacoby, Charles Kent, Samuel Lockhart, Nathaniel Lebby, Thomas Liſtor, Thomas Legare, John Leſſeſne, Henry Lybert, John Michael, John Minott, ſen. John Moncrief, Charles M'Donald, John Minott, jun. Samuel Miller, Stephen Moore, George Monck, Jonathan Morgan, Abraham Mariette, Solomon Milner, John Neufville, jun. Philip Prioleau, James Poyas, Job Palmer, Joſeph Robinſon, Daniel Rhody, Joſeph Righton, William Snelling, John Stevenſon, junior, Paul Snyder, Abraham Seavers, Ripley Singleton, Samuel Scottowe, Stephen Shrewſbury, John Saunders, James Touſſiger, Paul Taylor, Sims White, James Wilkins, Iſaac White, George Welch, Benjamin Wheeler, William Wilkie, John Welch, Thomas You.

On board the ſchooner Pack-Horſe.

JOHN Barnwell, Edward Barnwell, Robert Barnwell, William Branford, John Blake, Thomas Cochran, Joſeph Cray, Robert Dewar, William Deſauſſure, Thomas Eveleigh, John Edwards, jun. John W. Edwards, William Elliot, Benjamin Guerard, Thomas Grayſon, John Gibbons, Philip Gadſden, John Greaves, William H. Hervey,

vey, John B. Holmes, William Holmes, Thomas Hughes, James Heyward, George Jones, Henry Kennon, John Kean, Stephen Lee, Philip Meyer, George Moſſe, William Neufville, John Owen, Charles Pinkney, jun. Samuel Smith, William Wigg, Charles Warham, Thomas Waring, ſen. Richard Waring, John Waters, David Warham, Richard Yeadon,

Publiſhed by order of Congreſs,

CHARLES THOMSON, ſecretary.

NOTE XLVI. PAGE 303.

Charleſton, June 2.

By the right honourable FRANCIS *lord* RAWDON, *colonel, commanding a corps of his majeſty's forces in South-Carolina, &c. and* NESBIT BALFOUR, *eſq. lieutenant-colonel and commandant of Charleſton, &c.*

ALTHOUGH attention to the general ſecurity of the province has obliged his majeſty's troops, for the preſent, to relinquiſh ſome of the upper parts of it, we truſt, that it is unneceſſary for us to exhort the loyal inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts to ſtand firm in their duty and principles; or to caution them againſt the inſidious artifices of an enemy, who muſt ſhortly abandon to their fate, thoſe unfortunate people whom they have deluded into revolt.

BUT

But being well informed, that many perſons, ſincerely attached to his majeſty's cauſe, have, notwithſtanding, been forced to join the enemy, as the only means of preſerving themſelves and their families from the ſavage cruelty of the rebel militia, until eſcape ſhould be practicable; we deſire all ſuch to be confident, that they run no riſk of ſuffering from us, through indiſcriminate vengeance; reminding them, that the Britiſh government never extends its hand to blood, without the moſt convincing proofs of intentional guilt.

And we adviſe all perſons in the above predicament, as likewiſe thoſe who, from the oppreſſions of the enemy, have been obliged to quit their poſſeſſions, to take the earlieſt opportunity of coming in, with their arms, to any poſt or detachment of the royal army. We give them aſſurances of every ſupport, and of every endeavour on our part, to mitigate their preſent ſufferings: further declaring to them, that we ſhall feel ourſelves no leſs bound to reward the fidelity of thoſe who have remained unſhaken in their allegiance, than to inflict the puniſhment due to reiterated perfidy. Nor ſhould we give them this invitation, were we not certain that, in conjunction with the army, daily expecting powerful reinforcement, their exertions will very ſhortly reinſtate them in the full and peaceable poſſeſſion of that property, which they will thus have only

yielded

yielded for a time, to receive again with confirmed ſecurity.

Given under our hands in camp, at Monk's Corner, the twenty-fourth day of May, 1781, and in the twenty-firſt year of his majeſty's reign.

RAWDON,
N. BALFOUR.

By order of his lordſhip and the commandant,
H. BARRY, dep. adj. general.

NOTE XLVII. PAGE 327.

ARTICLES *of* CAPITULATION *ſettled between his excellency general Waſhington, commander in chief of the combined forces of America and France; his excellency the count de Rochambeau, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king of France, great croſs of the royal and military order of St. Louis, commanding the auxiliary troops of his moſt chriſtian majeſty in America; and his excellency the count de Graſſe, lieutenant-general of the naval armies of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, commander of the order of St. Louis, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Cheſapeak, on the one part: and the right honourable earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his Britannic majeſty's forces, commanding the garriſons of York and Glouceſter; and Thomas Symonds, eſquire, commanding his Britannic majeſty's naval forces in York river in Virginia, on the other part.*

ARTICLE I. THE garriſons of York and Glouceſter, including the officers and

ſeamen of his Britannic majeſty's ſhips, as well as other mariners, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war to the combined forces of America and France; the land troops to remain priſoners to the United States, the navy to the naval army of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

ARTICLE I. Granted.

ARTICLE II. The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military cheſt, and publick ſtores of every denomination, ſhall be delivered, unimpaired, to the heads of departments appointed to receive them.

ARTICLE II. Granted.

ARTICLE III. At twelve o'clock this day the two redoubts on the left flank of York to be delivered, the one to a detachment of American infantry; the other to a detachment of French grenadiers. The garriſon of York will march out to a place to be appointed, in front of the poſts, at two o'clock preciſely, with ſhouldered arms, colours caſed, and drums beating a Britiſh or German march; they are then to ground their arms, and return to their encampment, where they will remain until they are diſpatched to the places of their deſtination. Two works on the Glouceſter ſide will be delivered at one o'clock to detachments of French and American troops appointed to poſſeſs them; the garriſon will march out at three o'clock in the afternoon; the cavalry with their

their ſwords drawn, trumpets ſounding; and the infantry in the manner preſcribed for the garriſon of York: they are likewiſe to return to their encampment, until they can be finally marched off.

ARTICLE III. Granted.

ARTICLE IV. Officers to retain their ſide-arms: both officers and ſoldiers to keep their private property of every kind; and no part of their baggage or papers to be at any time ſubject to ſearch or inſpection; the baggage and papers of officers and ſoldiers, taken during the ſiege, to be likewiſe preſerved for them. It is underſtood, that any property obviouſly belonging to the inhabitants of theſe ſtates, in the poſſeſſion of the garriſon, ſhall be ſubject to be reclaimed.

ARTICLE IV. Granted.

ARTICLE V. The ſoldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennſylvania, and as much by regiments as poſſible, and ſupplied with the ſame rations of proviſions as are allowed to ſoldiers in the ſervice of America; a field-officer from each nation, to wit, Britiſh, Anſpach, and Heſſian, and other officers on parole, in the proportion of one to fifty men, to be allowed to reſide near their reſpective regiments, to viſit them frequently, and to be witneſſes of their treatment; and that theſe officers may receive and deliver clothing and other neceſſaries; for which paſſports are to be granted when applied for.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE V. Granted.

ARTICLE VI. The general, ſtaff, and other officers not employed as mentioned in the above article, and who chooſe it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime poſts, at preſent in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh forces, at their own option, and proper veſſels to be granted by the count de Graſſe to carry them under flags of truce to New-York, within ten days from this date, if poſſible; and they to reſide in a diſtrict, to be agreed upon hereafter, until they embark. The officers of the civil departments of the army and navy to be included in this article; paſſports to go by land to be granted to thoſe to whom veſſels cannot be furniſhed.

ARTICLE VI. Granted.

ARTICLE VII. Officers to be allowed to keep ſoldiers as ſervants, according to the common practice of the ſervice. Servants, not ſoldiers, are not to be conſidered as priſoners; and are to be allowed to attend their maſters.

ARTICLE VII. Granted.

ARTICLE VIII. The Bonetta ſloop of war to be equipped and navigated by its preſent captain and crew, and left entirely at the diſpoſal of lord Cornwallis from the hour that the capitulation is ſigned, to receive an aid-de-camp to carry deſpatches

ſpatches to ſir Henry Clinton, and ſuch ſoldiers as he may think proper, to be permitted to ſail without examination when his deſpatches are ready; his lordſhip engaging on his part, that the ſhip ſhall be delivered to the order of the count de Graſſe, if ſhe eſcapes the dangers of the ſeas; that ſhe ſhall not carry off any publick ſtores. Any part of the crew that may be deficient on her return, and the ſoldiers, paſſengers, to be accounted for on her delivery.

ARTICLE VIII. Granted.

ARTICLE IX. The traders are to preſerve their property, and to be allowed three months to diſpoſe of or remove it; and thoſe traders are not to be conſidered as priſoners of war.

ARTICLE IX. The traders will be allowed to diſpoſe of their effects; the allied army having the right of pre-emption. The traders to be conſidered as priſoners of war on parole.

ARTICLE X. Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country, at preſent in York or Glouceſter, are not to be puniſhed on account of having joined the Britiſh army.

ARTICLE X. This article cannot be aſſented to, being altogether of civil reſort.

ARTICLE XI. Proper hoſpitals to be furniſhed for the ſick and wounded; they are to be attended

tended by their own ſurgeons on parole; and they are to be furniſhed with medicines and ſtores from the American hoſpitals.

ARTICLE XI. The hoſpital ſtores now in York and Glouceſter ſhall be delivered for the uſe of the Britiſh ſick and wounded; paſſports will be granted for procuring them further ſupplies from New-York, as occaſion may require; and proper hoſpitals will be furniſhed for the reception of the ſick and wounded of the two diviſions.

ARTICLE XII. Waggons to be furniſhed to carry the baggage of the officers attending the ſoldiers, and to ſurgeons, when travelling, on account of the ſick, attending the hoſpitals, at publick expence.

ARTICLE XII. They will be furniſhed if poſſible.

ARTICLE XIII. The ſhipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their ſtores, guns, tackling and apparel, ſhall be delivered up in their preſent ſtate to an officer of the navy appointed to take poſſeſſion of them, previouſly unloading the private property, part of which had been on board for ſecurity during the ſiege.

ARTICLE XIII. Granted.

ARTICLE XIV. No article of the capitulation to be infringed on pretext of repriſal; and if there

there be any doubtful expreſſions in it, they are to be interpreted according to the common meaning and acceptations of the words.

ARTICLE XIV. Granted.

Done in the trenches before York, October 19, 1781.

(Signed) G. WASHINGTON,
Le Cte. de ROCHAMBEAU,
Le Cte. de BARRAS, en n'on nom, et celui du Cte. de GRASSE,
CORNWALLIS,
THO. SYMONDS.

NOTE XLVIII. PAGE 329.

By the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, October 29, 1781.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to his excellency general Waſhington, for the eminent ſervices which he has rendered to the United States, and particularly for the well-concerted plan againſt the Britiſh garriſons in York and Glouceſter; for the vigour, attention, and military ſkill with which the plan was executed; and for the wiſdom and prudence manifeſted in the capitulation.

THAT

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, for the cordiality, zeal, judgment and fortitude, with which he ſeconded and advanced the progreſs of the allied army againſt the Britiſh garriſon in York.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to his excellency count de Graſſe, for his diſplay of ſkill and bravery in attacking and defeating the Britiſh fleet off the bay of Cheſapeak; and for his zeal and alacrity in rendering, with the fleet under his command, the moſt effectual and diſtinguiſhed aid and ſupport to the operations of the allied army in Virginia.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled be preſented to the commanding and other officers of the corps of artillery and engineers of the allied army, who ſuſtained extraordinary fatigue and danger, in their animated and gallant approaches to the lines of the enemy.

THAT general Waſhington be directed to communicate to the other officers and the ſoldiers under his command the thanks of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, for their conduct and valour on this occaſion.

RESOLVED, that the United States in Congreſs aſſembled will cauſe to be erected at York, in Virginia,

Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his moſt chriſtian majeſty; and inſcribed with a ſuccinct narrative of the ſurrender of earl Cornwallis to his excellency general Waſhington, commander in chief of the combined forces of America and France, to his excellency the count de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his moſt chriſtian majeſty in America, and his excellency the count de Graſſe, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Cheſapeak.

RESOLVED, that two ſtands of the colours, taken from the Britiſh army under the capitulation of York, be preſented to his excellency general Waſhington, in the name of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

RESOLVED, that two pieces of field ordnance, taken from the Britiſh army under the capitulation of York, be preſented by the commander in chief of the American army to count de Rochambeau; and that there be engraved thereon a ſhort memorandum, that Congreſs were induced to preſent them from conſiderations of the illuſtrious part which he bore in effectuating the ſurrender.

RESOLVED, that the ſecretary of foreign affairs be directed to requeſt the miniſter plenipotentiary of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to inform his majeſty, that it is the wiſh of Congreſs that

count de Graſſe may be permitted to accept a teſtimony of their approbation, ſimilar to that to be preſented to count de Rochambeau.

RESOLVED, that the board of war be directed to preſent to lieutenant-colonel Tilghman, in the name of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, a horſe properly capariſoned, and an elegant ſword, in teſtimony of their high opinion of his merit and ability.

NOVEMBER 7, 1781. Reſolved, that the ſecretary of foreign affairs be directed to prepare a ſketch of emblems of the alliance between his moſt chriſtian Majeſty and the United States, proper to be inſcribed on the marble column to be erected in the town of York, under the reſolution of the twenty-ninth day of October laſt.

RESOLVED, that an elegant ſword be preſented, in the name of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, to colonel Humphrey, aid-de-camp of general Waſhington, to whoſe care the ſtandards, taken under the capitulation of York, were conſigned, as a teſtimony of their opinion of his fidelity and ability; and that the board of war take order therein.

Extract from the minutes,

CHA. THOMSON, ſecretary.

NOTE

NOTE XLIX. PAGE 329.

Head-quarters, near York, Oct. 31, 1781.

SIR,

I DO myſelf the honour of tranſmitting to your excellency a letter from brigadier-general Du-Portail, in which he explains the motives of an intended application to Congreſs for permiſſion to go to France, and for the promotion of himſelf, and other officers of his corps.

I SHOULD conceal ſentiments with which I am very ſtrongly impreſſed, and do injuſtice to very conſpicuous merit, if I did not, upon the preſent occaſion, offer my teſtimony of the diſtinguiſhed abilities and ſervices both of general Du-Portail and lieutenant-colonel Gouvion; their claim to the particular attention of Congreſs at this juncture, is founded upon the practice of Europe; a ſiege being conſidered as the particular province of the corps of engineers, and as entitling them, when attended with a ſucceſs important in itſelf and its conſequences, to the greateſt military rewards. Theſe officers, beſides, are ſupported by a ſeries of conduct in the line of their department, which makes them not depend merely upon the preſent circumſtances. For theſe reaſons I am induced to recommend general Du-Portail's memorial to Congreſs for the grades which he ſpecifies, and the leave of abſence; the latter being by no means incompatible with the good of the ſervice

ſervice at the preſent period, as I am reduced, notwithſtanding all my efforts, to the neceſſity of retiring into winter-quarters.

THE ſame principles as thoſe above-mentioned forbid me to be ſilent on the ſubject of general Knox, who is cloſely united with general Du-Portail in the merits of the ſiege, being at the head of the artillery, which is the other principal inſtrument in conducting attacks, the reſources of his genius have ſupplied on this and many other intereſting occaſions the defect of means. His diſtinguiſhed talents and ſervices, equally important and indefatigable, entitle him to the ſame marks of approbation from Congreſs as they may be pleaſed to grant to the chief engineer.

With ſentiments of reſpect
and eſteem, I have the honour to be
your excellency's, &c.
(Signed) GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, November 16, 1781.

RESOLVED, that brigadier-general Du-Portail, commanding officer of the corps of engineers, in conſideration of his meritorious ſervices, and particularly of his diſtinguiſhed conduct in the ſiege of York, in the ſtate of Virginia, be, and he is hereby promoted to the rank of major-general.

RESOLVED,

RESOLVED, that lieutenant-colonel Gouvion, of the corps of engineers, receive the brevet of colonel.

RESOLVED, that captain Rochefontaine, of the corps of engineers, receive the brevet of major.

March 22, 1782.

BRIGADIER-general Knox, commanding officer of the artillery, being recommended by the commander in chief, by his letter of the thirty-firſt day of October laſt, to be appointed a major-general in the army of the United States, on account of his ſpecial merit, and particularly for his good conduct at the ſiege of York-Town, in the ſtate of Virginia;

RESOLVED, that brigadier-general Knox be, and he is hereby promoted to the rank of major-general in the line of the army, and that he take rank from the fifteenth day of November laſt.

NOTE L. PAGE 332.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By his excellency John Rutledge, eſquire, governor and commander in chief of the ſaid ſtate.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the forces of the United States having compelled the troops of his

his Britannic majeſty to ſurrender or evacuate the ſeveral ſtrong poſts which they held in the upper and interior ſettlements, and retreat to the vicinity of Charleſton; and the enemy, being therefore unable to give that protection and ſupport which they promiſed to their adherents, left many inhabitants of this ſtate, who had taken up arms with them, induced ſo to do by their artful repreſentations, to become victims to their injured country; whereupon ſuch perſons, to eſcape or avoid the effects of its juſt reſentment, followed and remain with the Britiſh army, or lurk and conceal themſelves in ſecret places: and whereas the commandant of Charleſton having ſent beyond ſea the wives and families, which were in the ſaid town, of all the avowed friends of America; the ſeveral brigadiers of militia were ordered, as a retaliation of ſuch treatment, to ſend the wives and families, within their reſpective diſtricts, of all perſons who had joined or adhered to, and remained with the enemy, into their lines: and whereas it is repreſented to me, in behalf of the unhappy men who are with the Britiſh troops, or ſecreting themſelves as aforeſaid, that they are now convinced, being reduced with their families to great diſtreſs and poverty, that they relied on falſe and ſpecious engagements, and were flattered with vain expectations and deluſive hopes, and that they are therefore anxious, if they may be admitted, to return to their allegiance, and uſe their utmoſt exertions to ſupport American independence. On duly weighing and conſidering

conſidering the premiſes, I have thought fit, by and with the advice and conſent of the privy-council, to iſſue this proclamation, offering, and I do hereby offer, to all perſons who have borne arms with the enemy, and who now adhere to or are with them in this ſtate, or are lurking or concealing themſelves in ſecret places in any part of the ſtate, a FULL and FREE PARDON and OBLIVION, for ſuch their offence of having borne arms with, or adhered to, the enemy, upon the conditions following; that is to ſay, that ſuch perſons do, and ſhall, within thirty days after the date hereof, ſurrender themſelves to a brigadier of the militia of this ſtate, and engage to perform conſtant duty as privates, in the militia, for ſix months next enſuing the time of ſuch ſurrender, and that they actually perform ſuch duty. And I do further offer to the wives and children of ſuch perſons, upon their huſbands or parents complying with the condition firſt above-mentioned, licenſe and permiſſion, to return to their habitations, and to hold and enjoy their property in this ſtate without moleſtation or interruption. Provided always, that if ſuch perſons ſhall deſert from the militia ſervice within the time above-limited, their families ſhall be immediately ſent into the enemy's lines, and neither they or their huſbands or parents, ſuffered to return to, or reſide in this ſtate. Nevertheleſs, I do except, from the pardon hereby offered, and from every benefit of this proclamation, all ſuch perſons, as having gone over to,

or

or joined the enemy, were called upon by me in and by two ſeveral proclamations, to ſurrender themſelves to a magiſtrate within forty days after the reſpective dates of thoſe proclamations, in purſuance of an ordinance, entitled, 'An ordinance to prevent perſons withdrawing from the defence of this ſtate, to join the enemies thereof:' all ſuch as were ſent off or obliged to quit the ſtate for refuſing to take the oath required of them by law, who have returned to this country; all thoſe who ſubſcribed a congratulatory addreſs, bearing date on or about the fifth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, to general ſir Henry Clinton, and vice-admiral Arbuthnot, or another addreſs, bearing date on or about the nineteenth day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, to lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis; all ſuch as hold or have held any commiſſion, civil or military, under the Britiſh government, and are now with the enemy; and all thoſe whoſe conduct has been ſo infamous, as that they cannot, conſiſtently with juſtice or policy, be admitted to partake of the privileges of Americans. Notwithſtanding which laſt-mentioned exception, ſuch perſons, if they ſhould be deemed by me, or the governor and commander in chief for the time being, inadmiſſible to the rights and privileges of ſubjects, will not be detained as priſoners, but ſhall have full and free liberty, and a paſs or permit to return. At a juncture, when the force of the enemy in this ſtate, though lately

lately conſiderable, is greatly reduced by the many defeats which they have ſuffered, and particularly in the late important action at Eutaw; when they are diſpoſſeſſed of every poſt and garriſon, except Charleſton; when the formidable fleet of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in Cheſapeak bay, and the combined armies of the King of France and of the United States, under the command of his excellency general Waſhington, in Virginia, afford a well-grounded hope, that, by the joint efforts of their armies, this campaign will be happily terminated, and the Britiſh power in every part of the confederate ſtates, ſoon totally annihilated; it is conceived, that the true and real motive of the offer hereby made, will be acknowledged. It muſt be allowed to proceed, not from timidity, to which the enemy affect to attribute every act of clemency and mercy on our part, but from a wiſh to impreſs, with a ſenſe of their error, and to reclaim miſguided ſubjects, and give them once more an opportunity of becoming valuable members of the community, inſtead of baniſhing them, or for-ever cutting them off from it; for even the moſt diſaffected cannot ſuppoſe that the brave and determined freemen of this ſtate have any dread of their arms.

With the perſons to whom pardon is thus offered the choice ſtill remains, either to return to their allegiance, and, with their families, be reſtored to the favour of their country, and to

their poſſeſſions, or to abandon their properties in this ſtate for-ever, and go with their wives and children, whither, for what purpoſe, on whom to depend, or how to ſubſiſt, they know not—moſt probably to experience, in ſome ſtrange and diſtant country, all the miſeries and horrors of beggary, ſickneſs and deſpair—This alternative is now, for the laſt time, ſubmitted to their judgment—It will never be renewed.

Given under my hand and the great ſeal, at the High Hills of Santee, this twenty-ſeventh day of September, in the year of our LORD, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, and in the ſixth year of the independence of America.

J. RUTLEDGE.

By his excellency's command,

JOHN SANDFORD DART, ſec'ry.

NOTE LI. PAGE 371.

Articles of treaty between general Marion, in behalf of the ſtate of South-Carolina, and major Ganey, and the inhabitants under his command, which were included in the treaty made the ſeventeenth day of June, 1781.

ARTICLE I. MAJOR Ganey and the men under his command to lay down their arms, as enemies to the ſtate, and are not

not to reſume them again until ordered to do ſo, in ſupport of the intereſt of the United States, and of this ſtate in particular.

II. We will deliver up all negroes, horſes, cattle, and other property that have been taken from this or any other ſtate.

III. We will demean ourſelves as peaceable citizens of this ſtate, and ſubmit ourſelves to be governed by its laws, in the ſame manner as the reſt of the citizens thereof.

IV. We do engage to apprehend and deliver up all perſons within our diſtrict, who ſhall refuſe to accede to theſe terms, and contumaciouſly perſiſt in rebellion againſt this ſtate.

V. We will deliver up, as ſoon as poſſible, every man who belongs to any regular line in the American ſervice, and every inhabitant of North-Carolina, of this, or any other ſtate, who have joined us ſince the ſeventeenth of June 1781, when the former treaty was made, or oblige them to go out of the diſtrict, and whenever they return, to take and deliver them into ſafe cuſtody in any gaol within the ſtate.

VI. Every man is to ſign an inſtrument of writing, profeſſing his allegiance to the United States of America, and the ſtate of South-Carolina in particular; and to abjure his Britannic majeſty, his heirs, ſucceſſors and adherents, and promiſe

promiſe to oppoſe all the enemies of the United States, and the ſtate of South-Carolina in particular.

VII. ALL arms, ammunition, and other warlike ſtores, the property of the Britiſh, to be delivered up.

VIII. THE above ſeven articles being agreed on, they ſhall have a full pardon for treaſons committed by them againſt the ſtate, and enjoy their property, and be protected by the laws thereof.

IX. SUCH men who do not chooſe to accede to theſe articles, ſhall have leave to go within the Britiſh lines, and to march by the twenty-fifth inſtant, and be ſafely conducted with ſuch of their wives and children as may be able to travel, and carry or ſell their property, except cattle, ſheep and hogs, which they may diſpoſe of, but not carry with them. Such women and children who cannot be removed, may remain until the firſt day of September next. The officers to keep their piſtols and ſide-arms; all other arms to be diſpoſed of, and not carried with them. Each field officer and captain to retain one horſe, not exceeding twelve in the whole, and no other perſon to take with him any more horſes that may be fit for dragoon ſervice within the Britiſh lines.

WE

WE have agreed to the before-mentioned nine articles, and have ſigned the ſame at Birch's mill, on Peedee, this eighth day of June, 1782.

FRANCIS MARION, brig. gen.
ſtate of South-Carolina.

MICAJAH GANEY,
maj. loyaliſts, Peedee.

NOTE LII. PAGE 372.

SIR, Head-quarters, Auguſt 13.

THE meaſure which I lately adopted, of ſending a force to collect proviſions on the Lower Santee, for the uſe of this garriſon, was a neceſſary conſequence of the conduct your party had thought proper to obſerve, in the prohibitions which prevented our receiving ſupplies of the kind from the country.

FROM the reſpect which I owe to the ſentiments which appear to govern the preſent conduct of Great-Britain towards America, I ſhould have given a willing preference to any means, leſs diſtreſsful to the country, by which this neceſſary purpoſe might have been obtained; I am equally deſirous to forbear the further proſecution of theſe meaſures; and am ready to enter with you into any compoſition to that effect, which may, I think, be eſtabliſhed on terms to the mutual advantage of both parties, affording

to

to us a ſupply to our future neceſſities, and to you ſecurity from further depredation, and a voluntary compenſation for what the force of arms has already given us in poſſeſſion; the ſucceſs which has attended this enterprize muſt convince you, that principles of benevolence and humanity are the true motives of a conduct, the moderation of which muſt appear ſtriking to you.

I HOPE theſe conſiderations will induce you to accept a propoſal ſo evidently advantageous to the intereſts of your own party; and that you will in conſequence order rice and other proviſions to be ſent into town, in quantities proportioned to our demand, which will be conſiderable, from the neceſſity of ſupplying the King's ſubjects who may think proper to remove from hence to the province of Eaſt-Florida.

IF, notwithſtanding theſe offers, you think proper to adhere to your former line of conduct, the neceſſity which conſtrains will juſtify the meaſures which I ſhall be forced to take.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEX. LESLIE.

To major-general Greene, &c.

NOTE

NOTE LIII. PAGE 385.

Proviſional articles, ſigned at Paris the thirtieth of November, 1782, by the commiſſioner of his Britannic majeſty, and the commiſſioners of the United States of America.

Articles agreed upon by and between Richard Oſwald, eſquire, the commiſſioner of his Britannic majeſty for treating of peace with the commiſſioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his ſaid majeſty, on the one part; and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens, four of the ſaid commiſſioners of the ſaid ſtates for treating of peace with the commiſſioner of his ſaid majeſty, on their behalf, on the other part: to be inſerted in, and to conſtitute the treaty of peace propoſed to be concluded between the crown of Great-Britain, and the ſaid United States; but which treaty is not to be concluded until terms of a peace ſhall be agreed upon between Great-Britain and France, and his Britannic majeſty ſhall be ready to conclude ſuch treaty accordingly.

WHEREAS reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendſhip between ſtates; it is agreed to form the articles of the propoſed treaty on ſuch principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantages (thoſe ſeeds of diſcord) being

being excluded, ſuch a beneficial and ſatisfactory intercourſe between the two countries may be eſtabliſhed, as to promiſe and ſecure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

ARTICLE I. His Britannic majeſty acknowledges the ſaid United States, viz. New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, to be free, ſovereign, and independent ſtates; that he treats with them as ſuch; and for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, relinquiſhes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the ſame, and every part thereof; and that all diſputes which might ariſe in future, on the ſubject of the boundaries of the ſaid United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are, and ſhall be their boundaries, viz.

ARTICLE II. From the north-weſt angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north, from the ſource of Saint Croix river to the Highlands, along the ſaid Highlands which divide thoſe rivers that empty themſelves into the river Saint Lawrence, from thoſe which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-weſtern-moſt head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by

a line due weſt on ſaid latitude until it ſtrikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of ſaid river into lake Ontario; through the middle of ſaid lake, until it ſtrikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of ſaid communication into lake Erie; through the middle of ſaid lake, until it arrives at the water-communication between that lake and lake Huron; thence along the middle of ſaid water-communication into the lake Huron; thence through the middle of ſaid lake to the water-communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through lake Superior, northward of the iſles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of ſaid Long Lake, and the water-communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the ſaid Lake of the Woods; thence through the ſaid lake to the moſt north-weſtern point thereof, and from thence on a due weſt courſe to the river Miſſiſſippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the ſaid river Miſſiſſippi, until it ſhall interſect the northernmoſt part of the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude.—South by a line to be drawn due eaſt from the determination of the line laſt-mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence ſtraight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river, to the

Atlantic ocean. Eaſt by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its ſource; and from its ſource directly north to the aforeſaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from thoſe which fall into the river St. Lawrence; comprehending all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and Eaſt-Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic ocean; excepting ſuch iſlands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova-Scotia.

ARTICLE III. It is agreed, that the people of the United States ſhall continue to enjoy, unmoleſted, the right to take fiſh of every kind on the Grand Bank; and on all other banks of Newfoundland; alſo in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the ſea, where the inhabitants of both countries uſed at any time heretofore to fiſh. And alſo that the inhabitants of the United States ſhall have liberty to take fiſh of every kind on ſuch part of the coaſt of Newfoundland, as Britiſh fiſhermen ſhall uſe, but not to dry or cure the ſame on that iſland, and alſo on the coaſts, bays, and creeks of all other of his Britannic majeſty's dominions in America; and that the American fiſhermen ſhall have liber-

ty

ty to dry and cure fiſh in any of the unſettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova-Scotia, Magdalen iſlands, and Labrador, ſo long as the ſame ſhall remain unſettled; but ſo ſoon as the ſame, or either of them, ſhall be ſettled, it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid fiſhermen to dry or cure fiſh at ſuch ſettlement, without a previous agreement for that purpoſe with the inhabitants, proprietors or poſſeſſors of the ground.

ARTICLE IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either ſide ſhall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in ſterling money of all bonâ fide debts heretofore contracted.

ARTICLE V. It is agreed, that the Congreſs ſhall earneſtly recommend it to the legiſlatures of the reſpective ſtates, to provide for the reſtitution of all eſtates, rights and properties, which have been confiſcated, belonging to real Britiſh ſubjects: and alſo of the eſtates, rights and properties of perſons reſident in diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty's arms, and who have not borne arms againſt the ſaid United States: and that perſons of any other deſcription ſhall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmoleſted in their endeavours to obtain the reſtitution of ſuch of their eſtates, rights and properties, as may have been confiſcated: and that Congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates a reconſideration and

and reviſion of all acts or laws regarding the premiſes, ſo as to render the ſaid laws or acts perfectly conſiſtent, not only with juſtice and equity, but with that ſpirit of conciliation, which, on the return of the bleſſings of peace, ſhould univerſally prevail.

And that Congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates, that the eſtates, rights and properties of ſuch laſt-mentioned perſons ſhall be reſtored to them, they refunding to any perſons who may be now in poſſeſſion, the bonâ fide price (where any has been given) which ſuch perſons may have paid on purchaſing any of the ſaid lands, rights or properties, ſince the confiſcation.

And it is agreed, that all perſons who have any intereſt in confiſcated lands, either by debts, marriage ſettlements or otherwiſe, ſhall meet with no lawful impediment in the proſecution of their juſt rights.

Article VI. That there ſhall be no future confiſcations made, nor any proſecutions commenced againſt any perſon or perſons, for or by reaſon of the part which he or they may have taken in the preſent war, and that no perſon ſhall on that account, ſuffer any future loſs or damage, either in his perſon, liberty or property; and that thoſe who may be in confinement on ſuch charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty

treaty in America, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty, and the proſecutions ſo commenced be diſcontinued.

ARTICLE VII. There ſhall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majeſty and the ſaid ſtates, and between the ſubjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hoſtilities both by ſea and land ſhall then immediately ceaſe: all priſoners on both ſides ſhall be ſet at liberty, and his Britannic majeſty ſhall with all convenient ſpeed, and without cauſing any deſtruction, or carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garriſons and fleets from the ſaid United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the ſame; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein: and ſhall alſo order and cauſe all archives, records, deeds and papers belonging to any of the ſaid ſtates, or their citizens, which in the courſe of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith reſtored and delivered to the proper ſtates and perſons to whom they belong.

ARTICLE VIII. The navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for-ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, and the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE IX. In caſe it ſhould ſo happen that any place or territory belonging to Great-Britain, or to the United States, ſhould be conquered by the arms of either, from the other, before the arrival of theſe articles in America, it is agreed that the ſame ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of November, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two.

RICHARD OSWALD, (L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS, (L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN, (L. S.)
JOHN JAY, (L. S.)
HENRY LAURENS, (L. S.)

Witneſs,

CALEB WHITEFOORD, ſecretary to the Britiſh commiſſion.

W. T. FRANKLIN, ſecretary to the American commiſſion.



PLAN of the Investment of YORK & GLOUCESTER, by the Allied Armies: in Sept.r & Oct.r 1781.

References to the British Lines.

N.o 1 a Battery of 2 8 Prs & 3 5½ Inch Howr
2 ——— 3 18 Prs
3 ——— 4 18 & 3 9 Prs
4 ——— 5 18 1 9 & 2 6 Prs
5 ——— 1 18 & 3 9 Prs
6 ——— 1 18 & 4 9 Prs
7 ——— 2 18 & 2 12 Prs
8 ——— 2 18 & 1 9 Prs
9 ——— 2 18 & 2 12 Prs
10 ——— 3 18. 2 12. 1 6 & 1 36 Mor.r
11 ——— 1 24 & 2 9 Prs
12 ——— 2 12 & 2 8 1 Howitzer
13 ——— 2 18 & 1 12 Pr.
14 ——— 3 9 Prs.

Gloucester side.

13 ——— 10 18 & 1 12 Pr.r
16 - 2 Batts.s of 8 Guns diff.t Calib.
17 - Part of the British Shipping
18 - Guadaloup Frigate sunk the night of the 16th
Fowey Frigate.
19 - Bonetta Sloop of War.
20 - British ship sunk & 2 Transpts.
21 - Charon. a 44 & 2 Transpts. set on fire. by hot shot.
22 The

YORK RIVER

GLOUCESTER POINT

De Gatinois

Tourraine Road from Williamsburg

Mary's St Simons &c.

Agenois

Saintonge

Soissonnois

Roy.l Deux Ponts

Bourbonnois

Visc.t Vominil's 2.ns

Baron Vominil's 2.ns

The Field where the British laid down their Arms.

French Park of Artill.y

Adj.t Gen.l 2.ns

A Scale of Yards
100 200 400 600 800 1000

Count ROCHAMBEAU's Q.rs

Gen.l WASHINGTON's Q.rs

American Park of Artill.y

Artill.y Artif.rs Laboratory

Magazine

2.d M.r Gen.l 2.ns

Gen.l Knox's 2.ns

Part of Penn.a Maryl.d & Virg.a Line Baron Stubens 2.ns

French Hosp.l

N. York Line Sappers & Miners

Gen.l Clinton's 2.ns

Road to Hampton

N. Jersey Line

R hode Isl.d Reg.t

Gen.l Veidon's 2.ns

Light Infantry

Virg.a Mil.a

Marq.s La. Fayette's 2.ns

Americ.n Hosp.l

Moore's House

Gen.l Lincoln's 2.ns

SULLIVAN

FORT
MOULTRIE

ISLAND

Where the Adaeon and
Sphinx were order'd

Friendship

Active

Bristol

Experiment

Middle

Ground

A SKETCH

of the Situation & Stations

of the British Vessels, under

the Command of

Sir Peter Parker

on the Attack upon

FORT MOULTRIE

on Sulivan Island

June 28th 1776.

Sphinx
Sailing of

Friendship
Astern.

Thunder Bomb
Remor.d

Friendship remor.d
from the Bomb

Syren

Solebay

Sphinx aground
and off remarks got off

Abernethie Sculp.t Charleston.

COOPER RIVER

CHARLESTON HARB

Mount Pleasant

Long Hlnd

HOG ISLAND CHANNEL

Hunters Folly

CHARLESTON

ASHLEY RIVER

Dry at Low Water

Ft. Johnson
destroyed

PART of JAMES ISLAND

Nautical

A Sketch of CHARLESTON HARBOUR Shewing the disposition of
Vice Adm.l MARIOT ARBUTHNOT upon the Attack on FORT MO

Barracks for 3000 Men

L. POINT

Breakers

Rebellion Road

Hall[illegible]son Battery

Fort Moultrie

Middle Ground

Nautical Miles

sition of the BRITISH FLEET under the Command of
RT MOULTRIE on SULIVAN ISLAND in 1780

Abernethie Sculp[t] Charleston.